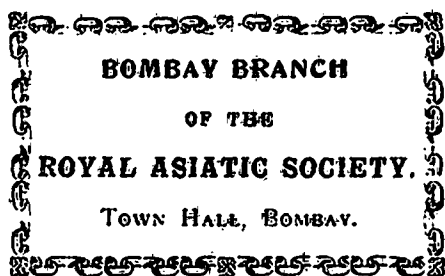




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CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND.

THE

Chronicles of Scotland,

BY

ROBERT LINDSAY OF PITSCOTTIE.

PUBLISHED

FROM SEVERAL OLD MANUSCRIPTS.

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VOLUME FIRST.

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PREFACE.

SEVERAL manuscripts have been employed in preparing these Volumes, all of unequal date, and exhibiting considerable discrepancies in style and matter. Two, to judge from external circumstances, belong nearly to the same period, the earlier part of the seventeenth century ; a third, which is divided into chapters, and terminates with the year 1598, is somewhat more recent ; and a fourth, intimately corresponding with it, is scarce above a century old. Probably manuscripts of greater antiquity may still be extant, as a fragment has occurred, which, according to the specimen annexed, is not posterior to the age of Mary.

The two older manuscripts, though defective in some incidents found in the

rest, are more copious on the whole ; they narrowly coincide in substance, and are besides distinguished by that simplicity, which, in coëval writings, marks an approach to originality. There is no interruption of the narrative denoting that passages are omitted ; the sense is complete, and the mode of their substitution sometimes affords well-grounded presumption of interpolation. Both these manuscripts contain the introductory description, which is not seen in the others ; but the poetical address, prefixed to the first printed edition, appears only in a single instance.

Many expressions, hitherto of doubtful import, are here explained, merely by restoring the words of the original ; some obscurities yet remaining, must be ascribed to incorrect transcription, and our imperfect knowledge of Scottish antiquities.

Preceding editions bear a title evidently of more modern structure. “ A History of Scotland, from 1436 to 1565, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, with a continuation by another hand till August 1604.” In one old manuscript, the conti-

PREFACE.

nuity of the text is uninterrupted, and the general title of all is invariably as now retained.

We can hardly affirm that it is satisfactorily established who was the real author of the Chronicles. The older manuscripts are silent on this head ; nor, throughout the contents of any, is there the most remote allusion to his name or quality. Nevertheless, in the following prefatory notice to two later transcripts, Robert Lindsay of Pitcottie has claimed the work. As we certainly owe it to the successive labours of different individuals, who flourished at distant intervals ; perhaps it is not inconsistent to admit, that he may have availed himself of the materials collected by his predecessors.

JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL.

15th December 1813.

NOTICE RESPECTING THE AUTHOR OF THE
CHRONICLES.

HEEER begineth the Historie and Cronicles off Scotland, which was left unwritten be the last translators, to witt, Mr Hector Boes and Mr John Ballantyn, who ended ther chronicle att the slaughter of king James the First, which was from our redemption ane thousand four hundreth and xxxvi yeares, the twenty ane day of Februar. Therefore wee follow hencefurth in order, beginning at king James the Second, so breifly succeiding all the kingis, queens, governours, and regents, that hath been since the said day forsaid, wnto this day and dait heirefter following; and furthermore, have sought, gathered, and collected, all the notable acts done be these foresaid princes in thair tymes, and all troubles and enormities of conspiratioun, fallen in lyk maner in ther dayes, is comprehended in this volume; and speciallie the maner of the reformatioun of the religioun and what was done therein, since the

fyftie and eight yeare, wntill the threescore and fyfteen yeare, sought, gathered, written, and collected by me, Robert Lindsay of Pit-scottie, instructed and learned, and laityly informed be thir authors, as after followes: to witt, Patrick, Lord Lindsay of the Byres; Sir William Scott of Balwirrie, knight; Sir Andro Wood of Largo, knight; Mr John Major, doctor of theologie, who wrott his cronicle heirwpon; and also, Sir Dauid Lindsay of the Mount, knight, *alias* lyon king of armes; with Andrew Wood of Largo, principall and familiar servant to king James the Fift; Andro Fernie of that ilk, ane nobleman of recent memory; Sir William Bruce of Earleshall, knight, who hath written very justly all the deeds since Floudoun Feild.

HEARE BEGINES ANE BREIFE DISCRPTIONE OF
INGLAND, SCOTLAND, WAILLIS AND CORNE-
WAILL.

BRIITANE or Brutane, which by tuo names is called Inghland and Scotland, is an illand in ocean sea, situat richt over against France; one pairt of which the Inghlisemen doe inhabite, and the other pairt Scottis: the third pairt Welschmen, and the fourth pairt Cornischmen. All they, aither in language, conditione, or lawis, doe differ amongst thamselffis.

Inghland, so called of Inghlischemen, which did win the same, is the greatest pairt, and is divydit in fourtie countries, which we call schyres, whair of ten, that is to say, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Southampton, Barkschyre, Wiltscyhe, Dorsetscyhe, Sommersaittscyhe, Dovenschyre, and Cornewaill, doe contane the first pairt of that illand: which pairt boundeth toward the south, and standeth

betweine the Theamis and the sea. From thence to the river of Trent, which passeth throw the midst of Ingland, be saxteine schyres, quhairof the first six standeth eastward, ar Essex, Midlsex, Harfotschyre, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeschyre. The other ten that standeth more in the midle of the countrie ar these, Bedford, Huntingdoun, Buckingham, Oxfoord, Northamptoun, Rutland, Leichester, Nottingham, Warwick, and Lincolne. Efter these thair be six that border westward vpoun Waillis; as Glocester, Herfoord, Worcester, Schorpschyre, Staffoord, Chester, and Monmouth. About the midle of the regione ly Darbieschyre, Yorkschyre, Lancaster, and Cumberland. On the left hand, toward the wast, is Wastmorland; against the same is the bischoprick of Durhame, and Northumberland, which boundeth vpoun the north in the merchis of Scotland.

These schyres be divydit into tuentie tuo bischoprickis, which by a Greek word be called diosces. Canterburie hath Kent; Rochester hath pairt of Kent; Londoun hath Essex, Midlsex, and pairt of Hareford; Chester hath Sussex, Winchester, North Hampschyre, and the Ile of Wight; Cornwaill hath Waillis and Somersettschyre; Worcester hath Worcester, and pairt of Warwickschyre;

Glocester hath **Glocester**; **Harefoord** hath pairt of **Schropschyre**, and **Harefoordschyre**; **Coventrie** and **Leichfield** hath **Staffordschyre**; **Derbieschyre** hath pairt of **Warwickschyre**, and pairt of **Schorpschyre**: **Lincolne**, which is the greatestt, lying betuixt the **Theames** and **Humber**, hath **Lincolne**, **Leycester**, **Huntingtoun**, **Bedfoord**, **Buckingame**, and the residue of **Harefoord**; **Harefoord** hath **Elie**, **Cambridgeschyre**, and the **Ile of Elie**; **Norwich** hath **Suffolk** and **Norfolk**, and pairt of **Cambridgeschyre**; **Oxfoord** hath **Oxfoordschyre**; **Petterborrow** hath **Northamtonschyre**, and **Rutland**; **Bristow** hath **Dorsetschyre**, and this is the province of the **Archbishoprick of Canterburie**, which is the primatt of all **Ingland**, with **Waillis**. The **Archbishoprick of York** hath **Yorkschyre**, **Notinghame**, and ane peice of **Lancaschyre**; the bishoprick of **Durhame** hath the bishoprick commonlie called **Northumberland**; **Chester** hath **Chester**, and most pairt of **Lancaschyre**; **Richmond** hath pairt of **Flintschyre**, and **Denbighschyre**; **Carelel** containeth **Westmurland** and **Cumberland**; and this is the other province of the **archbishoprick of York**, which is ane other province of **Ingland**, and was ane long tyme also primate of all **Scotland**. Bot these dioces tak thair names of the cities quhair these

seattes be placed, the chiefe quhair of be London, quhair in the beginning was the archbishopis seatt, bot afterward transported to Canterburie, ane citie in Kent, placed in ane soyle amiable and pleasant.

London standeth on the north syd of Theames. That most excellent and goodlie river hath first the name of Ise, and begineth in Cotleswold in Glocesterschyre, about ane myle from Titberrie, and als much from the hie way called Fesse, and it taketh first the name of Theamis near to Dorcester bridge, quhair the river Theames and the forsaid Ys meitt, and so with ane marvellous quyet cours passeth by London, and then breaketh wnto the French ocean, be mony tydis, which twyse in twentie four houres space doe ebb and flow more nor thriescoir mylles; to the great comoditie of travelleris, by the which all kindis of merchandice be easilie conveyed to London, the principall store and steple for all commodities, etc. within that realme.

Vpoun the same river is placed ane stone bridge, ane work verie rare and marvellous, which bridge hath, rekonig the draw-bridge, twentie archees, maid of foursquair stone; of height thriescoir futes, and of breadth threttie futes, distant on from another twentie futes, compact and joyned to idder with wol-

tis and sellaris. Vpoun both sydis be housis built, that it seames rather ane continewall streit than ane bridge.

The ocean sea doeth bound Ingland, the first pairt of Brittane, east and south Waillis, and Cornwall wast. The rivar of Tweid di-
vydeth Ingland and Scotland, north; the length of the illand at Portesmouth, in the south pairt, and ending at the river Tweid in the north, containeth thrie hunder and twentie myllis.

This realme, abone otheris, is most fruitfull. Not far beyond it is full of montaines, and although to the beholderis of that countrie, that far of it may seeme plaine, yitt it is full of maine hillis, and these for the most pairt wode of tries; the walleyis quhairof be werie delectable, inhabited for the most pairt with noblmen, quho according to the ancient and old maner, desir not to dwell into cities, bot nigh vnto walleyis and riveris, in several vil-
lages, for awoyding of vehement windis, be-
caus that iland naturallie is stormie.

Humbre hath his beginning a little on this syd of York, and by and by runneth southward, and then holdeth his course eastward, and so into the maine sea, greatlie increased by the rivar of Dun and Trent, etc. Trent beginneth a litle from Stoffoord, running

throw Darbischyre and Leichesterschyre, passing by Leichfield and Nottinghame on the right hand, and Dun on the left; so that both the rivaris doe mak on iland, which is called Ansholme, and than joyneth togidder. In this syd Kingstoun vpoun Hull, ane goodlie merchant toun, they fall into Humbre; by which river they may arrive out of France, Germanie, and Denmark. Inland is fruitfull of beastis, and aboundeth with cattle, quhairby the inhabitantis be rather for the most part grasieris then plewmen, becaus they give thamselffis more to feiding than to tillage, so that almost the thrid part of the countrie is employed to calle, dear, rid and fallow, goattis quhairof thair be store in the north parts, and countries of conies everie quhair. Thair is jollie maintenance of these sortis of beastis, becaus it is full of great woodis, quhairof thair is pastyme of hunting greatlie exercised, speciallie be the nobilitie and gentlmen. Andro Bourd sayeth, thair be more parkis in Inland than in all Europe besyd.

Scotland, ane vther part of Brittane, which at this tyme I have thought guid to treat of at large, that no farther mention of the situation might be maid heirefter, begane sumtyme at the hill called Grampius, now called

Grantesbane, stretching to the farthest coast northward. Bot efter the overthrow of the Pickis, it begane at the river Tweid, and sumtyme at the river of Tyne; the fortoun of warres altering the same as it doeth all other thingis. Thairfoir the lenth of Scotland from Tweid to the farthest coast, is esteemed to be four hundreth aughtie myllis. Bot as Scotland is broader than England, so it is longer and endeth lyk ane wedge; for the montane Grampius is evill favoured and craigie, which Tacitus in the lyffe of Julius Agrecola doeth remember, pearcing throw the bowels of Scotland from the coast to the Germane sea, that is to say, from the mouth of the river of Die, to the Irisch sea, evin to the Laik Lowmond, which lyeth betweine that countrie and that same hill. The river of Tweid which springeth furth of ane litle hill, not far beyond Roxburgh, is mingled with the Germane ocean, joynand southward with that countrie, which is called the Marches, being the east boundis betuixt Scotland and England. The said river of Tweid separatteth the merches from Northumberland, the farthest countrie of England, having prospect to the Germane sea. The chiefe toun thairof is Berwick, now in possessioun of the Inglismen. The waster limite of Scotland whillum was Cumberland, which the river

of Solue divydeth from Annerdaill. Betuixt these tuo regiones Chiveat hillis appear. Nixt to the merches Pichtland bordereth, now termed Lochden, bounding vpoun the east ane verrie hillie countrie, barrane almost of any tries. The most famous tounes of the same be Dunbar, Hadintoun, Leith, Northbervick and Edinburgh, the kingis seatt, quhair also is the castle of Maidenes, ane verrie strong and defensible place. By the same citie is the river of Forth, commonly called the Firth, doeth watter and pas by, which being carried to the Germane Ocean, maketh gritt armes or meres, commonly called the Scottis sea: quhairin, besyd vtheris, is the illand of St Columbe, by name called Æmonia. The same river devydeth againe from Lochden, a countrie quhair ar many tounes, as Dumfermling, Coupar, by the notable toun of Sanct Androis, speciallie famous for the universitie, and beautified with the sea of the archbishop and primate of all Scotland. On the other syd towardis the Irisch syd, northward, is Nidis-dalia, so called by the river that passeth thairby, quhair lie the strong tounes of Douglas and Dunfries. Upoun the south adjoyneth Galloway, more abundant of fodder for cattle than of quheit, quhairin be the toun of Candida Cassa, now called Whitterne, and the

ancient toun of St Ninianes, adorned also with ane episcopal sea. In these pairtis besydis is the toun of Wigtoun, quhair thair is ane laik of wonderfull nature ; becaus the one syd doeth freis in winter, and the vther not. By that, standeth the countrie of Caricta, once renouned : the toun Caricta quhair of, perchance it tuik the name abone Caricta. Towardis the wast is Elgonia, by which name Ptolomie calleth that countrie, bordering vpoun the ocean, quhair is the laik Lowmond, which is verie broad and large, containing manie illandis situat at the foote of the mountaine Grantescbene, aught myllis from the castle of Dumbrytone, besydis the river Bodotria, now called Levinus, becaus it appeareth by Cornelius Tacitus, that Bodotria and Glota have sundrie passages into the sea entring into the river Glota or Glude. Hear sum doe contend, that the name of Bodotria is not weill applyed to Levinus for the reason forsaid, and ar said to be clearlie dirempt on from the other, as Levinus and Glota ar not : quhairfoir they judge the river, now called the Firth, to be that which of old had to name Bodotria, and to prove the same, they ad many resounes which hear I omitt. Bot a guid space on this syd of Grampius

ryseth the river of Tay, the greatest in all Scotland, taiking his name of ane laik from whence it springeth, which falleth by Atholia and Caledonia by manie places, but chieffie by Perthenin now called Sanct Johnstoun, and lastlie by Dundie, in tymes past called Alectrim, and thair breaketh into the Germane sea, and at the mouth forceth great east-wares or armes of the sea, quhairof Tacitus maketh mentioun. Againes Tay is Angus, which, by meanis of that river, is fertile and prosperous, and is diuved from Fyffe be the same. Upon the north adjoyneth Atholl, not the barrenest countrie, als weill for watter as for plentie of soyll. On the vther pairt, Ardgyle showing itselff, which being full of laikis, yeildeth great plentie of fodder: quhois vtermost boundis stretcheth so far as Irland, is not distant passing sixteine myllis, about which the promontorie or forland called Landishead standeth. That coast quhillum the Sillures did inhabite, as Pollodorus gathereth by the wordis of Plinie, in his 4 buik, 16 chap.

Irland being situat over against Brittane, is distant from the natioun of the Silures by the schortest cutt, twentie myllis. Now sum otheris, and also it is manifest in the same, and Plinie in the same chapter, and also by other wrytteris, that Brittane was not so weill

knawin so far north. Howbeit, he meant not by this, that the Silures should inhabit Ardgyle, bot rather South Waillis, from whence the passage over was better knowne, and, as he might have vnderstanding, schortest also; quhair alsweill Tacitus as Antoninus seimes to place that people betuixt Ardgyle and Lennox.

Westward lyeth the countrie of Stirling, so called by ane toun thair. Hear the forest of Caledonia begane, on the left syd, which within strecheth fare and abroad. This forrest sumtyme bred quhyte bullis, long maned like lyones, which war so wyld as they could not be tamed. But because the flesch was pleasant and daintie to the mouth, the haill race of them almost is extinguished. Thair lykwayes is the castle of Calidone, situat by Taus, called Donchelden. From ane litle hill of the forrest, ryseth Glotta or Glude, which, by a broad channel, falleth into the Irisch ocean: forstayed in a maner by the bankis of the montane Grampius, it slydeth into the sea by great tydis, so as witnesseth Tacitus, quhom the Romanes thought to be ane other island of that river, that was daylie called Glottwaill, which countrie that river runeth by: and in the same is the citie of Glasgow, ane gudlie vniversitie.

Againe, toward the east, is the countrie of Angus and Mearnes, vpoun the sea coast, quhairin Fordoun by situation is verie strong, and for the relictis of St Palladius, the Scottish apostle, famous. On the same syde of Scotland is the countrie of Marre, garnished with ane citie called Aberdene, standing betuixt the tua riveris Doun and Dea, with ane guidlie vniversitie, adorned alsoe with ane episcopall sea, and tuo fair bridges on the said tuo riveris Doun and Dea; the one of sewin arches of four squair stone, verie rare and marvellous, and the other ane archie of curious workmanschip. These tuo riveris aboundeth also with great plentie of salmond fishes, by the which the inhabitants of that cittie are greatlie enriched. Then followeth Murray, which the tuo notable riveris doe compas about, Nessa and Spea: At the mouth of the last river standeth the toun of Elgine, about the bankis thair of be hudge woodis, replenished with all kyndis of wyld beastis. Thair is also ane laik called Spina, stored with plentie of swanes. Bot in the midle pairt standeth the broad countrie of Rossa, now called Beenerozen, stretching to the vttermost angle, evin to both the seaes, and the farther it goeth eastward, it is the better inhabited. In the same is ane bosom of

the sea, now and then so convenient for saileris, as it is commonlie called the port of health, or the heavin of saiftie. The breadth of the island is verie schort, for, falling into the form of ane wadge, it is scant thrittie mylles, over which defendeth with thrie promontories lyk toures, repelleth the great vaves and surges of the sea, invironed with tuo gulfes, which these promontories doe inclose. The entries be quyet and calme, and the watter peaceable. The strait of that land is at this day called Caithnes, coasting vpoun the sea Deucallidon. And this much of the particularis of Scotland. Bot the same is everie place full of guid heavines and navigable entressis, laikis with marsches, floodis, fontaines verie full of fisches, and montanes, vpoun the topis quhair of be pleasant plaines, yielding great store of grase, and plentie of fodder for cattle, woodis also full of wyld beastis. That pairt of the land is verie weill sustained with commodities, and thairfoir the people hard to be vanquished at on tyme, be reasone of the woodis and marisches that be at hand, for refuge of hunger, eased with venisone and fisch.

Without Scotland, in the Irisch seaes, ar many illandis now discovered, to the number of ane hundreth and fourtie: sune of these ar in length threttie myllis, bot in breadth not

above twelff mylles; amongst thame is Iona, beautified with the tomb of the Scottish kingis. The illanderis generallie speak Irisch, which declaireth thame to tak thair originall of the Irisch natione.

Beyond Scotland, towardis the north, lie the illes of Orchades, which Ptolomie sayeth to be thriescoir in number; sum lying in the Deucalidone sea, and sum in the Germane Ocean. The principall of these islandis is Pamonia, because it is a bishopsis sea, and is vnder the government of Scotland. The illanderis vse the Gothis speach, which argueth thame to procéid from the Germanes. They be tall of stature, but verie healthie, and lustie of bodie and mynd, leiving uerie long, although thair cheifest food be fishes: quhair the land is almost continewallie besett with cold in manie places, and is not able to beir corne, and generallie almost without trie or busch.

Beyond the Orchadis lie the illandis of Scotland, under the command of the king of Scottis, and beyond these standeth Thule, in the frozen sea, now called Iseland, to which our merchantis repaire everie yeir for fisching, in the somer. And this much of the scite of Scotland; now of the nature and maneris of the people.

The Scottis which inhabite in the southerne pairt be weill nurtured, and leive in guid civillitie, and the most civill vse the Inglisch speach; and for thair wode thair is geasone and scant; thair commoun fewell is of stones, which they dig out of the earth. The other pairt northerne, ar full of montaines, and verie rud and homlie kynd of people doeth inhabite, which is called the Reidschankis, or wyld Scottis. They be cloathed with ane mantle, with ane schirt fashioned* after the Irisch maner, going bair legged to the knie. Thair weapones ar bowis and dartes, with ane verie broad sword, and ane dagger scharp onlie at the on syd. All speik Irisch, feiding vpoun fisches, milk, cheise, and flesches, and having great numberis of cattell. The Scottis differ from the Inglisch in lawes and customes, becaus they vse the civill law as almost all other countries do. The Inglisch have thair awin lawis and edictis. In certane other conditiones they be not far vnlyk. Both thair languages is one, thair habite and complexion alyk: On courage in battle, and in the nobilitie on desir, and pregnancie in hunting. The countrie houssis be narrow, covered with

* Or Saffroned.

strae and reid, quhairin the people and beasts doe lige togidder.

Thair tounes, besydis St Johnstoun, ar vn-walled, which is to be ascryved to thair animositie and hardines, fixing all thair succouris and help in the valiencie of thair bodies. The Scottis ar verie wyse, as thair learning declaireth, for to quhatsoever airt they doe apply thaimselfis, they doe easilie proffeit in the same. Bot the idle and sloathfull, and such as doe shun and avoyd labour, seeme in gritt povertie, and yit will not stick to boast of thair gentilitie and noble birth, as thought it war more semlie for the honest to laik, then comlie by exercise of sum honest airt to gett thair liveing. Bot the Scottis be generallie devout observaris of religione. And this much of Scotland.

Wailles, the third pairt of Brittane, lyeth vpoun the left hand, which, lyk ane promontorie, or forland, or ane ille, as it war, on everie syd is compassed with the maine sea, except it be on the south east pairt, with the river of Sabrine, commonlie callit Seuerane, which divideth Waillis from England: although some late wryttaris affirme Herefoord to be a land betuixt Wailles and England, and say that Waillis begines at the Chepstow, quhair the river Wey augmenteth, with ane other river

called Luge, passing by to Herfoord, doeth
runne into the sea *, which river rysseth in the
midle of Wailles out of that hill, bot vncer-
tane whidder out of that spring that Sabine
doeth ; for evin to that place thair goeth ane
great arme of the sea, which passeth thorow
the land wastward, on the richt hand leiveth
Cornwaill, and on the left Waillis, which to-
pographie or discriptione, although it be new,
yitt I thought guid to follow. Thairfoir Waillis
is extendit from the toun of Chepstow, quhair it
begineth almost be ane strait lyne a litle abone
Shrewisberrie, evin to Wast Chester, north-
ward vnto that pairt. Sna many of the Brit-
tanes as remained alive efter the slauchter and
loose of thair countrie, att the lenth being dri-
vin to thair schiftis, did repair, as ancient wryt-
taris doe report, quhair, pairtlie throw refuge
of the montaines, and pairtlie of woodis and
marishes, they remained in saftie, quhilk they
injoye to this day. That land efterward the
Inglishmen did call Waillis, and the Brittaines,
inhabitantis of the same, Welshmen. For
among the Germanes it signifieth ane strang-
er, ane aliene, ane outborne or strange man ;

* This arme of the sea, as I judge, is now called Aust,
quhairin is ane passage betuixt the village of Aust and
Chepstow.

that is, such ane one that hath ane contrarie language from theris. For Waillis, in thair tongue, is called ane stranger, as ane Italiane, or Frenchman, which differis in speach from the Germane signifieth *homo*, which is ane man in Inglisch; thairfoir the Inglischmen, ane people in Germanie, efter they had wone Brittain, called the Brittaines escaped efter the destructione of thair countrie efter the maner Welschmen, becaus they had ane other tongue or speach besydis these, and the land which they inhabited Waillis, which name efterward, both to the people and the countrie, did remaine. By this meane the Brittaines, with thair kingdome, lost the name. Bot they which affirme that name to be deryved of thair king or queine, without doubt be deceived.

The countrie soyll toward the sea coast, and in other places in the valleyis and plaines, is most fertile, which yieldeth, both to man and beast, great plentie of fruit and grase. Bot in the vther places for the most part it is barren and lese fruitfull, because it lacketh tillage; for which caus husbandmen live hardlie, eating oatin cakes and drinking milk mixt with watter. Thairin be manie townes and strong castles, and four bischoprickis, if the bischoprick of Hereford be compted in Ingland, as the late wryttaris declair. The first

bischoprick is Menew, so called of Meneva, which at this day they call Sanct Davidis, ane citie verrie ancient, situat vpoun the sea coast, and boundeth wastward, towardis Irland ane other Landaff, the thrid Bangor, and the fourth Asaph, which be vnder the archbischope of Canterburie. The Welschmen have ane language [different] from the Inglismen, which, as they say that fetch thair pedegrie from the Trojanes, doeth pairtlie sound of the Trojanes antiquitie and pairtlie of the Greek. Bot howsoevir it be, the Welschmen doe not pronounce our speach so pleasantlie and gentlie as the Inglismen doe, because they speak more in the throat, and contrariewyse the Inglischmen, following richtlie the Latines, doe exercise thair voyce sumthing within the lipes, which to the heararis scameth pleasant and sweit. And this much of Wailles, the thrid pairt of Britthane.

Now followeth the fourth and last pairt of Britthane, called Cornewall. This pairt begineth on that syd which standeth towardis Spaine wastwardis: towardis the east it is of breadth fourscoir and ten myllis, extending a litle beyond Sanct Germanes, which is ane fair famous village, situat vpoun the richt hand vpoun the sea coast, quhair the greatest pairt of the countrie is bot twentie mylles. For

this parcell of land on the right hand is compassed with the coast of the maine sea, and on the left with the airme of the sea, whjch a befoir is declaired. Pairt of the land runeth vp to Chepstow, quhair the countrie is in forme of ane horne; for at the first it is narrow and then groweth broader. A litle beyond the said toun of Sanct Germane eastwardis it bordereth vpoun Ingland, wast, south, and north. The maine sea is round about it. It is a verie barren soyll, yielding fruit more throw travell of the tilleris and husbandmen, than throw the goodness of the ground. Bot thair is great plentie of leid and tin, in the myning and digging quhair of doeth speciallie consist the living and sustentatioun of the inhabitantis.

Thair tongue is far dissonant from the Inglish: bot it is much lyk to the Welsch tongue, becaus they have mony wordis common to both tongues. Yitt this difference is betuixt thame: when a Welschman speaketh, the Cornischman rather vnderstandeth manie wordis spokin by the Welschman than the haille he telleth; quhairby it is manifest that these thrie people doe vnderstand ane other in lyk maner as the southerne Scottis doe vnderstand and perceave the northerne. Bot it

is ane thing verie rare and marvellous, that in on ille thair sould be such warietie of speaches.

Cornewaill is in the dyocie of Exeter, which was once worthie the fourt pairt of the illand for the contrarietie of the languages. Efterward the Normandis, quho constitute ane kingdome of all these thrie pairtes, rekoned Cornwall to be on of the thrie countres or schyres of that pairt.

This much of the particular descriptione of Britthane that the haill bodie of the realme by the memberis may the better be knawin to sum peradventure that nevir hard the same of befor. The forme of the illand is triquetra, or thrie cornered, having thrie corneris or thrie sydis: tuo thairof, that is to say, the corner towardis the east and the corner towardis the wast, both extending northwardis, ar the longest. The thryd syd, which is the south syd, is far shorter than the other, for the illand is far longer of lenth than of breadth; and in the other tua pairtes is contained the lenth, evin so in the last the breadth: in which place the breadth begineth, and so continoweth or conteanieth from the south pairt to the north. It is bot narrow, the first and richt corner of which illand eastwardis in Kent and Dover and Sandwich, from thence to Calice or Bulloigne in France, is the first distance of

threttie myllis. Fra this angle, which is againest France, to the thrid angle, which is the north in Scotland, the maine quhair of boundeth vpoun the sea, bot no land seine: And thair the land is lyk vnto ane wadge, evin at the verie angle of the land in Scotland. The lenth is sewin hundreth myllis. Againe, the lenth from the corner of Dover in Kent to the vttermost pairt of Cornwall, beyond Sanct Micheallis Mont, which is the wast pairt or wast angle, is supposed to be thrie hundreth myllis. From this last angle, being the last and vttermost pairt of Cornwall, which hath ane prospect towardis Spaine; in which pairt also standeth Irland, betuixt Brittain and Spaine, to the north angle, in the furthest pairt of Scotland, in the which pairt the illand doeth end, the lenth is aught hundreth myllis; in which pairt thair be verrie guid heavines and saiff harboroughis for schipis, and apt passages into Irland, being not past one dayes sailling. Bot the schorter passage is from Waillis to Waterfoord, ane toun in Irland vpoun the sea coast, much lyk to that passage betuixt Dover and Caleise, or sumquhat more. Bot the schorter passage of all is out of Scotland from this last angle to Hamptoun, which is ane toun vpoun the sea coast, with ane heavin so called towardis the south, and thairfoir

called Southamptoun. Betweine the angle of Trent and Cornwall they doe measure be straight lyne the haill lenth of the illand, and doe say that it containeth aucht hundreth mylles; and the breadth from Meneva or Sanct Davidis to Yarmouth, which is the vttermost pairt of the illand towardis the east, doe containe tua hundreth mylles; for the breadth of the illand is in the south pairt, in which pairt is the front and beginning of the land, and ended narrow, as it war straight. So the circuit or compass of the land is aughtene hundreth mylles, which is twentie more nor Cæsar doeth rekone or accompt. Thus endeth the discriptione of England, Scotland, Waillis, and Cornwaill.

HEARE BEGINETH
THE
CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND.

KING James the First being treasonable slaine, and the tratouris slayeris of him condignlie punished and put to death for the same, yitt nevirtheles, the haill realme was brokin and divydit in the selff. For why? quhair thair is no awe of a king or prince, they that ar most furthie in the injayring and furth setting of thamselffis, leivis evir without measour or obedience after thair awin pleasour, and so lang as the king is young, great men rignes at thair awin libertie, opressand all men, as they, without doubt, will be punished thairefter.

This James the First left bot onlie one sone behind him, called James the Second,

not past six yeires of aige, quho then was brought to Scoone, and crouned be the nobilitie. But, becaus the king was not sufficient to governe the realme, for inlaik of aige, the lordis maid ane conventioun to advyse whom they thought most able, both for manheid and witt, to tak the gouvernement of the commonwealth in hand; att quhilk conventionne, nane was thought more able nor Alexander Livingstoun, knicht of the Callendar, and thairfor was maid governour over all the realme: and als Sir Williame Crichtoun was new approued chancler of Scotland, because he had worthielie exercised the same in King James First, his tyme.

In this meane tyme, Alexander, Earle of Douglas, being uerie potent in kine and friendis, contemned all the kingis officeris, in respect of his great puissance, so that thair was manie complaintes maid of him to the governour and magistrates, and in speciall vpoun the men of Annerdail: because he not onlie spoilyied the wholl countrie nearest about him, bot also cruellie slew the indwellaris thair of without any pitie: and when he was comanded to repair for sick injuries done be him, he both obstinatlie disobeyed, and also stopped otheris that wold have mend-

ed thair offences; and caused proclaime publicklye, that no man within Annerdaill and otheris boundis quhatsoever, pertaining to his dominiones, not to obey, and if he was called, not to obey any of the kingis officeris under the paine of dead, alleading, that he had priveledge of the king to decyd all matteris within the boundis forsaide. Quhairfor, the nobilitie that war of guid zeall and conscience, sieing justice alluterlie smothered on everie syd, war highlie commoved at the said Alexander, Earle of Douglas, but durst not attempt to punisch thairfor, becaus they dred it sould provock greater troubles to thameselffes, and to the realme, if they wold invade so great ane man.

Through this meane, the wholl youthis of Scotland begane to raige in mischief and lust, and so long as he was to punisch, meikle hirschip and stouth was in land and borrowis, great crueltie of nobles amongst themselffis; for slauchter, theft, and murther, was than patent, and so continewed day by day, sua that he was estemed the greatest man of renown, that was the greatest brigant, theife and murther. But they wer the caus of this mischeife that war governouris and magistrates of the realme.

In this meane tyme, manie great disensiones raise amongst vs, but it was vncertane quho war the moveris, or by quhat occasione the chancellar exercised such office, fardder nor became him. He keiped both the castle of Edinburgh and als our young king thair-intill, quho was committed to his keeping be the hail nobilitie, and ane great pairt of the noblmen assisted to his opinion. Vpon the other syd, Sir Alexander Levingstoun, bear-and the authoritie committed to him be consent of the nobilitie, as said is, conteaned ane other factione to whois opinion Queine mother with monie of the nobilitie verie trewlie assisted. So the principallis of both the factiones, caused proclame lettres at mercat crocch, and principall villages of the realme, that all men sould obey conforme to the forsaidis letters, sett forth be thame, vnder the paine of death. To the quhilk no man knew to quhom he sould obey, or to whois lettres he sould be obedient vnto. And als great trouble appeared in this realme, becaus thair was no man to defend the burghes, preistis, and poor-men, and labouraris, hauntand to thair leisum bussines, aither privat or publick. These men, becaus of these enormities, might not travell for theifis and brigantis, and siclyk

all vther weak and decripit persones who was vnable to defend themselffis, or yitt to get food or sustentatioun to thanselffis, war most cruellie vext in sick troublous tymes. For when any past to seik redrese at the chancellor of sick injuries and troubles sustained by thame, the theifis and brigantis, feinzied themselffis to be of ane other factione, wold burne thair houss and carrie thair hail guidis and geir away, or evir they returned thame agane. And evir sick mischeif befell these that yeid to plenzie to the governour of the oppressione done to thame. Some other guid men moved vpoun consideratioune and pitie of thair present calamities, thoalled many sick injuries, and contened thanselffis at home, and sought no redrese. In the midst of thir thingis and troubles, all thingis being out of ordour, Queine-mother begane to find out ane moyane, how shoe sould diminisch the chancellouris power and augment the governouris power, quhois authoritie shoe assisted. Sua shoe passed to Edinburgh, convöyed with a small traine. The chancellour ressaived hir with gladnes, and gave hir entres, to visit hir zoung sone, and gave command, that quhensoevir the queine cam to the Castle, it sould be patent to hir grace. But shoe

verie craftilie dissembled, that she cam to intercommoun with nobles, alleadging that thair was nothing that shoe hated so much as cruell warres and dissensione ; knowing that thair was great mischeife ingendred amang the noblmen of the realme ; and thairfoir, with ane guid will, schoe wold, that all discord war sett a syd, and peace and vnitie to be nourished among the nobles ; and desired also, that the king war brought vp in the fear of God, and honorablie to all the sight of the world : for in him lay the onlie hope and restitutione of the comoun-wealth to the awin estatē ; and punischment of transgressouris for the offences committit at such troublous tymes. And to bring this purpose to the effect, schoe promised to imploy her haill care and labouris to bring all the subjectis of the realme to peace and rest.

Be thir and other such lyk wordis, the chancellour removed all kynd of suspitione and hatred out of his mynd, quhilk he suspected the queine bure to him of a befoir. Sua followed sick familiaritie betwixt the chancellour and the queine with her assistaris, that shoe gatt credit to visit, and to haunt companie with hir sone, both day and night, without any impediment.

Att the last, spyng tyme and opportunitie to fulfill hir purpose, when shoe had sick libertie to enter and ische to the Castle, shoe gave the chancellour to vnderstand, that she had maid ane vow to pas to the quhyte kirk of Brechine; for the health and prosperous succes of hir sone, etc.; desiring thairby, to have license to carrie away tua cofferis with hir cloathis and ornamentis forth of the castle, quhilk being granted to hir, shoe inclosed the zoung king in one of the cofferis, and hir cloathis in ane other coffer. Schortlie after, the keiparis and watchmen of the castle [deceived on this maner, she caused certain men] that knew of hir purpose, to have horss readie to carrie away the saidis cofferis to the schoar of Leith, quhair the cofferis war imbarcked togidder with hir self. And so shoe passed forwardis into Stirling, and was ane great pairt of the watter vpward or evir, the keiparis of the castle cold perceave themselffis deceived; and when the governour vnderstood the same, he cam suddenlie out of the castle of Stirling with all his forces, and receaved the king and his mother with great blythnes and joy; and estemed the queine highlie that shoe had attempted so high and waightie ane purpos, with great danger of hir lyffe, and had

brought the same to ane prosperous fyne, both for the weilfair of the realme, and also of the king hir sone. Thairfor the governour called all his friendis and assisteris to ane counsall, vpoun the third day thairafter, and said to thame in this maner.

“ Quhat great intollerable and arrogant troubles, and great oppressiones, be to our rebuik and schame, and how we have sustained thame, hairtie freindis, everie one of yow doe knaw perfytlie, since Sir Williame Crichtoun, captane of Edinburgh, was promoted, now alledged to the chancellarie of the realme and keeping of the prince; for not onlie hes he maid the wholl land perteaning to the king, tributeris to him, wha is an high officer, bot also wold have oppressed ws with insufferable tyrranie, and swa should have vsurped all riches, honour, and authoritie, and ws brocht to povertie, schame, and utter miserie, if he had holdin forward his vicked purpose and intent. Hes he not laboured evir sensyne, without any punishment of wicked livaris and perturbaturis of the commonwealth, to compell all men to obey his chairges? He not onlie laboured also to dresse and set forth all matteris, both privat and publick, quhilk as if he had beine supreme magistrat, approv-

ed by the wittis of this realme, but doubt, if this noble voman, our souerane mother, through her great wisdom and prudencie, and speciall of the Almighty God, had not helped ws all the sooner, we had thoalled sharplie persecution, mair nor any of ws could have perceaved. Shoe passed to the chancellour, against my will indeid, becaus I knew his subtiltie, he had so mervellous ane foresight of all kynd of suspitione, or of ony craft or fraud that may redound to his hurt or dampnage. Zitt, with ane marvellous conceat, shoe has takin away her sone, and brocht him now to ws, quhairby I vnderstand, that the wysest man is not at all tymes sickerst, nor yitt the hardiest man happiest. Now, the chancellor, notwithstanding of his great wisdom and foresight, with great shame, hath lost the king, vnder the cullour of quhois authoritie he overrane everie man, lyke ane greidie and vnsatiable tyrant, without all regaird of trew honour or humanitie. Quhat evir he purposed to doe, he sett it fvrth vnder precept of the king, quhairby the poore people should tak the greater fear and dreadour to disobey him. Bot now his chance is both shamefull and miserable, and everie man will laugh him to scorne; we, be the contrair to ws

great honour, and the rather, that we have in our handis the king, quhilk we desir aboue all creatour on the earth. Be of guid comfort, thairfoir, all the mischēife, banishment, troubles, and wexatione, quhilk the chancellour thought to have done to ws, latt ws doe the lyk to him; latt ws also tak up sum band of men of warre, and everie man efter his power, send secret messages to thair freindis, that they, and everie one that favouris ws, may conveine togidder quytelie in Edinburgh earlie in the morning, sua that the chancellour sould not knaw ws to cum for the seidging of the castle, whill we have the seidge evin beltit about the wallis, sua yea sall have subject to yow all that wold have arrogantlie oppressed yow. I knaw that we have strenth enough for this effect, if our heartis serve us. But I say, the perrill and oppres-sione that yea have beine in on the ane pairt, the commoditie, friedome and opportunitie of tyme, on the other pairt, with the great honoures and glorie that will follow thairvpoun, sould persuad you more nor my wordis can doe: we inlak nothing but hardiment; courage, chance and fortoun, quhilk we think to say, will supplie the rest."

Quhen the governour had said, everie man,

with ane glaid hairt and will promised to assist him with all thair strenth: yea albeit Archibald earle of Douglas wold concur with the chancellor in his contrair: and the Queine promised to furnische the men of warre with vittual out of hir awin garneris, the tyme of the seidge. Attour shoe said, that no man mistered to tak fear of the earle of Douglas, that he wold cum and support the chancellor, for he hated him so much, that he wisched nothing more nor the ruine of the lord Creichtounes hous, and his posteritie rooted out allwterlie. Throw this everie man tuik better courage, and promised to doe all that lay in them for performing of the governouris command and chairge: and thairafter the conventione dissolved, and everie man went home to mak him readie to the effect forsaied.

Bot now latt ws retorne againe to our purpose. The chancellor persaved himself so done, craftilie deceaved be his foes, he thought thair was nothing to follow thairupon, (in respect of the want of the king,) but vtter ruine and destructione of his hous, kine, and freindis, and thairfor took purpose to send ane message to the earle of Douglas, and desired to have support of him againes the governour and Queine, quham he supposed

wold cum schortlie to invaid him; quhilk if he wold doe, he promised faithfullie to mak the said earle mutuall support, and sould stand his friend leillie and trewlie beyond all utheris, etc. when it sould chance him to have adoe with his enemies. The message scantlie endit, the earle Douglas with an irfull countenance, lykeas if he had been wood and furious, ansred him againe. “ It is bot litle skaith I think for me, albeit sick mischeivous traytouris as Sir Williame Crichtoun and Alexander Livingstoun, whom yea call gôvernour, moue warres contrair otheris, and als it becometh not the honorable estait of noblmen to help any of them, albeit ilk ane of thame wraick vtheris, so that thair war not sick ane thing as any memorie of thame heir-after to our posteritie. As to myselff, thair is nothing more pleasant than to hear of warre and discord betixt them tua vnhappie tyrantis; and namlie, quhair the beginning of thair dissensione is not groundit vpoun ane guid caus, bot vpoun ane schamfull and wicked ground, wold God I might sie ane miserable mischeif to befall thame both, sieing they have deserved the same condignlie throw thair awin ambitione, falshood, pryd, and hight. For I knaw it is the just judgment

of God, that deceitful tyrantis, setting thair wholl purpos and intent to wraik utheris, according to thair demerites, sould be punished in the sight of the world : and speciallie, they have so oft offended noblemen and simple men of guid lyffe and conversatioun.”

Soone be the chancellour had ressaved this answer, the governor had belted the seidge about the Castle, and invaided the same so scharplie, that, that not being forseine, nor provydit ther foir in tyme, the chancellour tuik purpose to render the same in the governouris handis ; and to bring the same more easilie to effect, he requeisted the governour be ane, bot tua dayes trewis, that he might cum furth to the feildis befor the yettis, and talk and intercommoun with him vpoun sundrie effaires concerning the commounwealth, and als promised him, be the faith of his bodie, to schow him that thing, that wold redound to both thair proffeittis and securities contrair utheris, that hated them both as one.

The governour, glaid of this message, accompanied with a small number of his freindis, as was conveyned betuixt thame, mett the chancellour at the place appoyntted, quhair the chancellour reveilled the scharp answer of the earle Douglas, that he sent to him, when

he sought support to eschew the governouris present wraith, saying that he wisched nothing more than that everie ane of thame sould distroy otheris: quhairfoir, said he, "since this wickednes and evill is equall manifest to ws both, and in the meane tyme, if it sall chance ws any fardder to continew in this feid, it sall redound to his advantage, and to our great skaith and schame: quhairby we tuo salbe ane easie prey to the earle Douglas, our commoun enemie; and thairfor I wold we had regaird to the veillfair of our selffis and freindis. If our dissentione have any fardder progres it wilbe manifest more noysum vnto us, nor if we had warres with our vnfreindis: and as to myselff, I remove all rancour of mynd, seiking frielie from the bottome of my hairt your peace and kyndnes; and am both content to render the Castle, and my selff in your handis; in what conditione yea pleas, willing to be ane faythfull and obedient servant to the Prince and your selff, so long as yea bear the government of the realme, efter the adwyse of the kingis counsellouris and youris."

The governour hard thir wordis verie pleasantlie, and had guid hope of better to follow thairvpoun, thinkand weill that this present

discord put to rest, and the commounweill put to quyetnes, he sould more easilie repres all injuries within the realme; and thairfoir with ane hairtie countenance, requeisted the chancellour to be willing to doe as he said; and if he keipit his promise trewlie, he sould cutt of all the wicked memberis and perturbationis of the commounwealth, and rull the realme from thence, with great tranquillitie and peace. Then, bot any stay alsoone as he had put himselfe in the king and governouris will, and delyvered the keyis of the Castle in signe and takin of the rendring thair of frielie, he requeisted the benevolence of the haill nobilitie present for the tyme, quho held him from thence forth, not as aneemie, but as ane principall pillar of the commounweill. Efter this, the governour was ressaived in the Castle with great triumph and joi, and then Sir Williame Crichtoun ressaived againe both the gift of the castle and chancellarie, lyk as he had befoir. Throw the quhilk daylie amitie and freindschip increased betweene the governour and chancellour, and their freindis on everie syd, that all men supponed the same to indure for evir vnbrokin.

In this meane tyme, quhill the countrie

was walterrand to and fro in this maner, thair was nothing but murther, thift, and slauchter in the south and wast of Scotland, for Sir Thomas Boyd slew Sir Allane Stewart of Gartullie, knycht, at Pawmatt Horne, thrie myllies from the Falkirk, for old feid that was betuixt thame, the third yeir after the death of King James the First. Quhilk death was soone revenged thairefter; for Alexander Stewart, to revenge his brotheris slauchter, manfullie sett vpoun Sir Thomas Boyd in plaine batle, quhair the said Sir Thomas was cruellie slaine with manie valient men on everie syd. It was foughtin that day so manfullie, that both the pairties wold vtter and leive otheris sundrie tymes, and recounter againe at the sound of the trumpett, quhill at the last, the victorie inclyned to Sir Alexander Stewart, as said is. And sua the hail southwast of Scotland was divydit into tua pairtis, and nevir tuik rest quhill the deceas of the earle of Douglas, quho depairtit this present lyfe in the hot fevir at Lastalrige, in the yeir of God 1439 yeires, to quhom Williame his sone succided, ane young man of fourteine yeires of age, gottin vpoun Mauld Lindsay, dochter to the earle of Crawford, quhom the said Archibald married at Dundie

samtyme, with sick pomp and triumph, that the lyk was nevir sene at no manes mariages. This Williame was the sixt belted earle of the hous of Douglas. He was ane young man of singular guid appeirance at the beginning, but allase, the tender youth, if it be not broucht vp in the fear of God, is so easielie corrupted, that it inclynes rather to vyce than vertew, and that throw the mischeivous companie of harlottis and flatteraris, quhilkis ar the most vnhappie and vicked pest that evir man, of quhatsoevir estate or conditione he be of, may be infested with. For if this young gentlman had cum in godlie and honest companie, without doubt he had beine ane man of singular good witt and manhood. But he haunted proud and vngodlie menes companie, and thairby he, to the great contemp-tione of the kingis auctoritie, at all tymes accompanied aboute his estate quhair evir he raid, convoyed with a thousand horsmen, att sum tymes tuo thousand and moe; amongst whom, he mantained ane great number of theifis and murthereris, and wold bring thame to Edinburghe, or any other toun, of sett purpose in the kingis sight, to latt him vnderstand his mightie power that he might raise. Attour he thought himself sicker and frie

from the injures of all enemies if he represented the same arrogance his father did vse befor. And sua he not onlie imbraced the haill forme and maner of his fatheris conditiounes, bot also surmonted his pryd and hight abone the expectatioun of onie man. He eikit his housold meikle mair nor it was befor in his fatheris tyme; and als be the persuasioun of flaterrers, he conduced many wicked tyrrantis out of all countries to depend vpon him, quhairfor he might be the more dred and awfull to everie man, quhill at the last he tuik sic waine conceat of himself within his boundis, that be the vaine flatterrie of his dependaris, he thought no man within the realme might be his fallow or companion. For it is said, he thought it bot a small matter to overthrow knightis; and thairfor to advance his mightie power, he held parliamentis within his awn boundis, without advyce of the king.

Sir James Stewart, brother to the Lord Lorne, quha married King James the First his wayff, assisted be the earle of Douglas, and that through sum disensione that was betuixt him, the governour, and chancellour. By quhat occasione they discorded, can no man tell. It was thought, he sieing the

countrie so divydit as said is, to have had sum rule in the realme alsweill as any other, be reasoun he had maried the kingis mother. The governour, to repres Sir James Stewartis insolencie, took him, with his brother, and kest them both in prisone, dreadand if they had 'resorted long in the earle Douglas companie, that he sould have had greater difficultie to repres thair insolencie and tirranie.

The Queine, perceived to be highlie commoved at hir husband and brotheris imprisonment, was wairdit also with the governour within the Castle of Stirling, quhilk was in his awin keeping at that tyme, and was detained thair, and nevir was relaxed quhill thair was ane conventioun maid of the wholl nobilitie; in quhois presence it behoved hir to mak hir purgatione that shoe was frie of all misrule committed be hir husband, nor gaive no counsall thairto. And also, if evir chanced him ony maner of way to trouble the realme or molest ony of the subjectis thair of, that shoe should not be participant thair of in tyme cuming.

Efter this, the said Sir James and his brother war relaxed, and lattin furth at the request of the Chancellour; and als Sir Alex.

ander Seatoun alias Gordoun, the first earle of Huntlie, obleist him, and became cautioner that sick enormities, contrair the king and governour, should not be committed vnder the paine of four thousand markis, nor yitt to usurp nothing at his awin handis, nather office nor auctoritie concerning the commounwealth. Albeit the governour punished and corrected not thir men according to thair demerites, yitt he punished with great rigour vtheris richt honorabill and ancient men, quha vpoun ane small suspitione that he tuik of ony of thame, he compelled thame to compone for thaimselfis, quhilk was ane verie hard thing, in respect he was governour of the realme. Utheris that were manifest oppressouris war not onlie thoalled to persevir, bot ony punischment of thair wickednes, bot also was remitted, although they had committed nevir so great crymes. This was done without the chancellouris counsall, quhairwith he was highlie offendit. For he thought weill, by this faschione of the governouris, both he and his auctoritie sould be contempned, and the comounweill, without regaird, wikedlie overthrowne. But he suppressed the anger of his heart, quhill he saw better occasione; and thairby took purpose to pas

home to Edinburghe, and thair to containe himsellf quhill he war better adwysed.

All this tyme the governour remained with the king and his mother, in Stirling, and retained ane gritt gaird of men of warre, as vse is in Scotland in all sick troublous tymes, about him; and albeit he vnderstood the chancellour to be ane man of high spirit and courage, not willing to suffer so many vrongis, as he had gotten, vnrevenged if his power wold serve thairto; yitt nottheles, in respect he was governour, and having the king in his keiping, and thairfoir all the realme wold and should obey him, he regairded no man, ruling all thingis at his pleasour, bot ony adwyse or consultatione of vtheris nobles in the realme.

When thir thingis war in doing, Williame earle of Douglas sent Malcome Fleming of Cumbernald, and Allane Lawder, ambassadouris vnto Charles the Sewinth of that name, king of France, to give him the dukrie of Turane, perteaning to him in heritage, quhilk his guidschir, quha was slaine at the batle of Warwett, [Verneuil] for the defence and libertie of France, joyсед and bruickit of befoir, and promised faithfullie, that quhatsoevir was contained in the chartour maid thairon, that he sould fulfill the same exactlie, lykeas his for-

bearis did befor him. Charles, moved with great love and zeall that he buir to the kingis of Scotland and thair leiges, granted glaidlie to thair requeist and message, and gave to him and his procuratouris the haill landis and rentis in France quhilkis his guidschir had a befor. Upoun the other syd, the said noble earle of Douglas ambassadouris, gave thair oathis of fidelitie to the King of France and his successouris to doe all thingis concerning his pairt, as said is.

The message, sped with sick happie success, caused this earle of Douglas, being of tender aige, to be puffed up with new ambitione and greater pryd nor he was befor, as the nature of youth is ; and als prydfull tyrantis and flatererris that war about him, throw this occasione spurred him evir to greater tyranie and oppressione nor any man vont to doe. This mischeife range not onlie in the south and southwast, bot also the men of the Illes invaided sundrie pairtis of Scotland at that tyme, both be fir and sword, and in speciall the Lennox was whollie overthrowne. The principall men of the Illes was Lachlen Macklend and Murdo Gibsone, tuo great theifis and murdereris. And, to resist thir cruell tratouris and murdereris, Johne Cul-

wheine of Luihase gathered ane companie of men, and fought at Lochlowmond, besyd Inchmyrrine, quhair he being oversett with ane great multitud of men of warre, was slaine, with monie of his folkis, fightand mantullie to the dead; and few of the men of the illes war slaine, and wan gritt victorie. Thairfoir tratouris became so proud and so insolent, that they brunt and hirried kirkis quhairevir they cam, and spaired nather old nor young, bairn nor wayff, bot cruellie wold burne thair hous and thame togidder, if they maid any obstacle; or else, if they maid no debait, without consideratioun or pitie, wold, with thair wayffis and bairnes, not wittand of sick occasi-
sione, cruellie murder and stick thame in thair bedis, bot ony regaird of old or young. Thus they reigned through the realme bot ony respect of God or man.

In this yeir, quhilk was the yeir of God 1439 yeires, thair raise ane great dearthe of victuallis within the realme, pairtly becaus the labouraris of the ground might not sow nor win the cornes throw the tumultis and cumberis in the countrie, and pairtly, quhilk is most apparentlie to be trew, was the verie wraith and ire of God to caus ws to knaw our selfis, and, through that scourge, to pro-

vock ws to amendment of lyfe. Thair rang also at this tyme ane terrible pest in the countrie, for all men that war infected thair-with died that same day he tuik it, bot^e ony remedie or help.

Attour, albeit thir plagues and scourges rang amongst ws, yitt nevirtheles sum men maid thame nevir to amend thair lyfes, bot daylie became worse. Divers vtheris, that plenzied vpoun the enormities that they sustained, they gatt little or no redrese, quhair-by the people began to wearie and cours that evir it chanced thame to live in sick wicked and dangerous tymes. It was than whispered out throw the realme, that the governour was the haill mischeife and mover of all that range for the tyme within the realme, alledging, that since he gat the gouvernement everie man supponed that he buir greater favour to bluidie mischeivous tyrrantis nor it became him. And for the hatred that he buire to the chancellour, he drew also to his assistance and familiaritie the earle Douglas, and maintained him onlie for the chancellouris distructione and ruine. But how soone he knew the same perfytlie, and that everie man meined that it sould returne and redound to his great hurt, that the governour

and the earle war confederat, he began to consider and pause thairvpoun verie earnestlie, and tuik purpose to doe sum hardie and wittie act, quhairthrow he sould hazard himselfe, kine and freindis to be out of his perrill, or else to be hirried and perrill all for evir. Quhill at the last, when he had sum knowledge quhair the king was at his pastime, and quhat folkis accompanied him be expleratouris; he, accompanied with certane chosin men, past his way to the park of Stirling vpoun ane mirk night, and gave command to his freindis to be in readines with thair wholl forces to assist nim in the way, and to ly near hand betuixt Linlithgow and Stirling, if he had beine persued scharplie be his vnfrendis. And they that cam with himselff, to the number of ane hunder men all armed, cam in sundrie pairtis and diverss passages, for eschewing of suspitione, that ony man might perceave concerning the purpose if they had mett him. Wpoun the morne, in the morneing, the chancellour happened better nor any man supponed, for evin at the breaking of the day, the king cam out of the Castle to hunt and pas his tyme, convoyed with ane small number of horsmen, as his vse was; or evir he could perceave the chancel-

louris folkis lying for him, he was invironed and circuit round about, quha altogidder saluted the king with great reverence and humilitie, quhilk being done, the chanoëllour requested his grace effectuouslie that he wold be so good to declair him selff out of that prisone quherin the governour most wickedlie detained him, to the great skaith and dampnage of the commounwealth; ex-örting him thairfoir to pas to Edinburgh or ony other pairt of Scotland, quhair evir he pleased, and he sould convoy him furth of all menis danger againes the heartis of all these that wold the contrair. Attour it became ane king or prince to live frielie and inspyring aboue all otheris, and not subject to any wassalis correctioun or chastisment, for that was the weill of thame that wisched his weil-fair.

Thir wordis said, the king began to smyll, quairthrow they vnderstood the king to be content of thair cuming, and glaid to pas with thame, and thairfoir hint his hors be the brylle, and convoyed him away to Edinburgh. Att this tyme, some of the kingis serwantis that came out with him, maid abstacle and debaitt; bot the governouris eldest sone, Alexander Levingstoun, forbad thame

to mak any impediment, saying, it was but ane vaine thing to stryve with so manie armed men, speciallie quhair thair was no danger : it is raither better at that tyme to sustaine ane schame albeit thair was none, and more necessar to give place to thair enemies, nor to attempt a thing aboue strength. It is the law and cours of fortoun, he is nearest perrill and decay that sittes highest on the wheill, and be the contrairie, will extoll and illustrate thame that be farthest castin down.

Soone after that the king had takin the gaitt to Edinburgh, thair mett him thair more nor four thousand armed men to assist him, be the chancellouris convoy, if any man wold have invaidit him ; and receaved him with gritt joy and glaidnes. Or evir the governour gatt word the king was placed in Edinburgh, for it chanced the governour to be ane dayes journey out of Stirling at that tyme. But when he gott word that the king was away, he sped him to Stirling againe with all diligence, greatlie greived in his mynd ; and adwysed him greatlie quhat was to be done for this wicked work done to him ; for it greived him more nor all the troubles he had befoir, and was more crabed with himselfe, being esteimed with all within the realme, ane man of

singular guid witt and manheid, that he sould have beine so negligent and slouthfull in keiping of the king, quhairby his vnfreindis had greater occasione to have him in dirisgione. Attour the governour brunt with anger within himselff, that he was so mischeived in his behalfe, he leiving his freindis and familiaris with the king, quho knew nothing of this vn-happie fortoun that had chanced him, whom all his enemies desired above all thingis day and night, and as he beleived nothing more nor falshood amongst thamselffis at him, in respect of his enemies facil prey, hour and tyme so justlie keepit, and the kingis glaid depairting but ony debaitt or impediment. Quhen he had paused in this maner vp and down reasoning with himselff for his slouthfulness, he begane to adwyse how he sould eschew all danger present and to cum; and considered that it was vnsicker to committ his lyfe and honour in binding vp of bandis with the earle Douglas, who was but ane young man without experience or knowlege of sick high and weightie matteris, following the counsall of waine greidie flattereris, overrunand everie man that he might overcome, but law or reasone: throw the quhilk everie man that favoured the comounweill,

estemed him as ane deadlie enemye, and not ane trew leidge of the realme; and sua he thought that if he wold fullie leive the chancellor and vtheris, his faythfull freindis, and collige with the earle Douglas, in contempt of the chancellor, quho wold have vtraiked thame both a befor, it sold be ane readie way to caus himselfe, kin and freindis to be dispighted and lightlied be the wholl nobilitie, and be depryved of his governance, to his great dishonour and schame at the last, his bairnes, kine, and freindis, wraikit allutterlie, and himselff compelled to leave the realme for evir. Schortlie he consulted with his freindis quhat they thought best to be done in this matter. The same reasoned to and fro be men of good experience, they thought nothing better nor disemble all offences that was bygane, with all quarrellis and debaittes betuixt the chancellor and him to be sett a syd, and to be at ynitie and concord as they war a befor.

The governour thought this counsall uerie guid and sweit, and thairfor by all menis expectatione passed his way to Edinburch, accompanied with ane small number of folkis: and that be the draucht and counsall of tua wyse and prudent prelattis, being in Edin-

burgh for the tyme, to witt, William Lich-toun, bishop of Aberdene, and John Innes, bischope of Murray, quha had beine with the chancéllour, alsweill as with the gover-nour, in all tymes bygane ; quha maid gritt travell to bring thame to concord and peace. Qubill at last they broucht thame within Sanct Geillis kirk, voyd of all companie except ane small number of thair most speciall freindis, without veapones : and the gover-nour begane in maner following. “ Quhen I was in companie sundrie and divers tymes with wyse and prudent men, weill beseine in histories both new and old, oft tymes I have hard them say, that sober guidis and gear, with peace and concord, growis ay more and more to great substance at the last, and be the contrair richt potent men through ane small dissensione, has [bene] brought to ane vtter vtraik and hirschip. Not onlie have we this in ancient histories of other realmes, but als we have the experience daylie amongst our selffis. Qubat skaith and dampnage, by the displeasure of our heartis, quhilk is worst of all, have we both sustained ? Quhat lose of guidis and geir, familiaris and freindis, have we had since the beginning of our dissensione ? As I beleive thair ar men leivand can

tell of treuth, we have nather strenth nor riches we had a befoir, nor yitt are we in so honorable estate, nather with nobles nor with commones, as we war vont to be when concord was amongst ws. Thir civill warres and dissensiones makis ws both as one odious to the people, and becaus it diminisches our fame and honour, quhilk more apperteanis to ws nor our lyves. I wold we took example of the thingis bygane and of the thingis that ar to cum. I am forsooth the more offendit that we tua, to whom the governance of the realme is most gaincand, and thairfor was givin to ws be the wholl nobilitie, sould be holden as mocking stokis to everie man, and esteimed as prydfull and ambitious tyrrantis, and to be the onlie caus of so great murther and thift, quhairby the wholl realme may be ane easie prey to our enemies: for they desir nothing more nor our dissensione, beholding till we tuo be rooted out allutterlie, throw the quhilk all law and justice salbe contemned, and everie man that pleassis sall put hand in the kingis awin persone, or els abuse all governance and authoritie. Remember thairfoir, that the nobilitie has put ws in this place, quhill the kingis majestie cum to perfyte aige, to hold this realme in tranquillitie on everie pairt: to repres all

seditionis tyrantis. For be our dissension the realme is wraiked and betrayed, and not ruled and governed as it sould be. I beseik the thairfoir, if thow has any favour to the prince or the realme, that yow will renunce all rancour of heart, whairthrow the commonwealth is wraiked; and latt ws be reconcilled againe to our old freindschip that was betuixt ws: for friendschip is the happiest band that can be maid for the veilfair of the realme and countrie: without the quhilk no man privat nor publick may be profitable to himselff, nor to the commounwealth, and thairfoir latt all injures be sett a syd, having the weilfar of this realme affixed befoir our eyis: And that thow sould grant the rather to my request, I forgive all vrongis done to me, and als sall repair all vrongis and offencis done be me, to thy pleàsour and will. Attour, the king sall remaine in thy governance and keiping, quhill he cum to perfyte aige, becaus his faythir when he was a lyve, committed him to thy cure and chaarge. And as to my awin pairt, I desir nothing more bot ilk ane of ws to love another heartilie as it becumes ws to doe: and it becumes ws to do sàe that the nobilitie with the comounes of the realme, may sie and understand ws to be faythfull governouris and ma-

gistratis of the same; punischeris of transgressouris and manteinaris of equitie and justice. The quhilk if we doe not, is bot deceit amongset ourselffis, regairding our awin privat wining, more nor the weilfair of the realme; then our geir and substance vanisch-ed away evir, ourselffis, wayffis, and bairnes put to wreak; and that which is worst of all, the king salbe in danger, and tint betuixt ws; his treasouris and riches cum to nought; and finallie throw our prydefull vaine ambitione the realme salbe ane easie and facile prey to our enemies."

Whan the Governour had said, the Chancellour ansred in maner following.

"It is vnkawin to all the leidges of the realme, that I detested in all tymes bygane, all kind of seditione and civill warres, setting my wholl intent and labouris to eschew the samyne efter my power; and as to this present discord newlie raised amongst ws, which is intendit throw prydfull and vaine ambitione, glaidlie with my heart wold it war slokind furth and sett a syd, that thair sould not be so much as ane spark or ony kind of memorie thair of in tymcuming: least it sould throw small occasione, raise and kindle greater hatred than evir was amongst ws. I knaw perfytlie, so

long as discord and latent hatred rignes amongest ws, thair sall nevir be riches nor grace in this realme, and thairfoir, I cannot refuse both the honorable and thankfull conditiones to my selff, and also nesessar for the weillfare of the realme, and speciallie quhair they cum of frie will vncoacted or compelled. For I desir all menis amitie and freindschip, and speciallie of thame that ar governouris of the commounwealth. Yitt it is not decent that aither of ws decerne vpoun this matter, nor ye prescryve ane forme and faschione at the aggriement of this present discord. For it is contrair to all law and reasone, that any minister the law to himselff: by that quhat-euir the ane discerne, the other sal be discontent thairwith and plenzie, that the same was done, by all the headis and talking that was amongest ws necessar. Thairfoir, I think it is forme that sum prudent man equallie for ws both, quha favoures the commounwealth, be chosin of both the pairties, at whose arbitriement and sentence we sall repair all the offences bygane, with any other thing concerning the gouvernement of the countrie. For all men that hes any perfyte favour thairfor, will not onlie be cairfull for this counsall, and spend thair geir, bot also will wair thair

lyves to the advancement and weillfair of the same, and speciallie, they who ar placed aboue otheris, as ane perfyte example of administratione, equitie, and justice."

Thus, on this wayes, all thair friendis on both sydes that stood about, begane to extoll and love thame both, with great thanksgiving, that they both regairded the commounwealth so meikle, and preferred the same to all privat quarrellis and debaittes. Then both the parties war comprivat to thair oathis to stand at the sentence of the arbitratouris chosen be thame both, quha schortlie brought thame both to vnitie and concord, and finalie so friendlie confederat, that nevir any of them appeared to faill to a nother againe.

Schortlie thairefter thair was ane parliament sett at Edinburgh, to mak statutes for the repairing of the commounwealth to the auld estate. Att this parliament so many and innumerable complaints was givin in, quhair of the lyk was nevir seine a befoir. Thair was so many widowes, bairnes, and infantis, seiking redrese for thair husbandis, kine, and freindis, that war cruellie slaine be wicked murthereris, and sicklyk many for hirschip, thift, and murther, that it wold have pitied any man to have hard the samyne. Schortlie

thift and murther was cum in sick dalyance amongst the people, and the kingis actis cum in sick contemptioun, that no man knew quhair to seik refuge, vnlese he had sworne himselfe to sum commoun murther or bloodie tyrrant, to maintaine him contrair the invasioun of otheris; or else had givin largelie of his gear to save his lyfe, and to give him peace and rest.

Quhen the lordis of parliament had consulted long tyme, and in quhat maner the offences sould be amendit and repaired; and als perceaved the earle Douglas to be the principall caus of these enormities; and, by reason of his riches, kine and freindis, they could not reprove his tyrannie be strenth nor might, thairfor sent pleasant writingis to him, purposing to cutt him off be slight, subiltie, and craft, requeisting right effectuouslie the said earle and his brother to cum in for the assistance of the commounwealth, quhilk without him, his kine and freindis, the commounwealth could not be goodlie rulled; for, since they had abstained from the rulling thair of, it was all near wraiked and cum to nought. Sick colloured and painted wordis they sent to this young gentlman to drave him in the snair, albeit they meined nothing more nor his death,

snare; and ruine. So this earle being groun on greedines to gather geir and conqueis glore and honour to himselfe, and namlie to his kine and freindis, notwithstanding no colloured wordes nor offence that nane sould presume againes him, and thought that nothing could be done without him, his kine and freindis. And als, vpoun the other pairt, vpoun the information of sum avaritious greidie creaturis and flattereris, depending vpoun him, having regaird to their awin privat wining more nor to the magistrates fame and honour, he took purpose to obey the letteris, and to cum forward to the king at Edinburgh, accompanied with his brother David, whom he suffered nevir to pas from himselff, and other honest freindis, beleiving no falshood to chance him efterwardis, in respect of the heartie message that cam from the magistratis and lordis of parliament to him. When this earle was cuming forward in this wyse, the chancelbur, on sett purpose, rod furth to meitt him, and, to remove all suspitione out of this earle's mynd, requested him verie earnestlie to ryd to Crichtoun with him, and to pas the tyme thair a day or tuo. To the quibilk the earle Douglas consented uerie glaidlie, and remained thair with his kine and freindis tuo dayes,

verie weill intertained. The chancellour swore be his great oath and holy sacrament, that thair was not ane nor other in Scotland, except the kingis majestie, that he favoured so weill as the earle Douglas, and wold esteime him from thence furth equall with the governour of the realme.

This young gentlman fostered with sick fair flatterie, was allured to pas to Edinburgh. The Chancellour, as he that had no privat deceit latent in his mynd, said with ane hairtie countenance in this maner. "Since sua it is the king hes given and granted large and great riches within this realme vnto your forbearis and yow, far abone the puissance of otheris, your freindis and otheris, your neighbours, I will exhort yow with my heart as him whose hous, kine, and friendis is more dear to me nor all the rest of Scotland, my awin except, to stand obedient to the kingis lawis and statutis, quhom it hath pleased the Almighty God to rigne abone ws at this tyme; and remember the high fortoun that yea ar promoted to: the great dependance of wassallis, and landis, and manrentis, with other gritt strength and power, quhilkis neidis not to be rekoned at this tyme, ar not cum to yow that yea sould be the more insolent thairof, think-

and thairby that yea sould oppresse inferiouris, or yitt misken the magistratis appoyntted be the pleasour of God, and consent of the nobilitie: bot rather if the king hes givin yow all thir forsaidis of his awin benevolence and pleasour, and abone all thingis, to defend the commonwealth, not regairding lyfe, landis, nor guidis, for manteining of the same in peace and rest. Thairfoir, caus all enormities and crymes committed in tymes bygane to be refoundit and remeidit within your boundis, and suffer not the poore simple people to be overcum and reft with strong and mischeivous tyrrantis, nor stop no man to be brought to the kingis majestie, that is ane mischeivous trespassour or limmer, and be the contrair, to minister justice equallie within your boundis, as becomes yow, thairefter, not onlie to tholl vtheris vnpunished, bot also to cum with your strenth and forces, to bring all wicked boucheris and manifest oppressouris of the poore, to be judged and thoall condignlie, according to the lawis, vtherwayes it will redound to your great dishonoure, hurt, and schame, to the weak and hirschip of your guidis and geir, and that, which is worst of all, to the vtter exterminatione of your hous, kine, and freindis: of the quhilkis since I favour yow so weill, I wold

not that yea war the author, nor yitt that yea sould blott the honorable factis of martiall deides, and the honour in civill governement, quhilk your forbeararis conquiest to your posteritie."

This young gentlman, of guid inclinacione, if he had beine weill accompaind, tuik the chancellouris admonitioun in guid pairt, promising to repair all thingis that he had counsalled, and to obey and serve the kingis majestie with dew honour and reverence; but knew nothing of the chancellouris fraud and guyle, quho thought the realme sould be at greater tranquillitie, if the earle Douglas and his brother war cutted off suddenlie.

Thairefter, they cam to Edinburgh, without any vnderstanding quhat was devysed for thair distructione. Sum men judged nae guid to cum of that voyage, and that through frequent messages both cuming and goeing betwixt the governour and chancellour, and thairfor, gave counsall that none of tham sould enter at that tyme within the castle of Edinburgh; or at the least, if he entred, best it war to send his brother Dauid back againe home, and not to break thair fatheris counsall, wha inhibited thame, that they yeid nevir both togidder quhair thair was any appearance of

danger, least it sould be the wreak of thame selffis and hous. The earle gave no credence to sick conjecturis, saying, he had experience of the chancellouris and governouris lawteis in sick cases: and as to the chancellour, he had so treated and interteined him, that he could dread no falshood nor evill at his hand. Sick quyet rumour passed throw the wholl companie, that caused Sir David Douglas persuad the earle, his brother, to retorne home againe; dreadand sum mischeife to fallow vpon that haistie freindschip. For the quhilk caus, the earle reproved his brother verie scharplie, saying it was not decent to him to give ear to such vaine vnhappie flattereris, quho evir was the occasione and mischeife of all dissentione amongst noblmen, so long as they had place, and thairfor, gave command with right scharp wordis, that no man in his companie sould meane such ane thing, latt be to speak the same. Hear a notable and worthie caice; the nearer that a man be to perrill or mischeife, he runes more headlong thairto, and hes no grace to hear thame that gives thame any counsell to eschew the perrill. The earle Douglas being ane young gentleman of guid inclinatioun, wyser perchance than any other of equall aige, wold nevir give ear to his good

willeris and favoureris, nor yitt was he content with thame that gave him counsall to return homwardis againe, bot reproved thame highlie : quhairfoir sundrie noblemen with sad drearie and quyet countenance followed him, and durst not speak no further. It may be evill said of this man, albeit it wold, it could not preserve this man from distructione and ruine, and sua sternis continewallie provoken this man to his deid. But farder delay, spurred his hors and cam forwardis to Edinburgh, and entred within the castle, quhair, with fainzied and colloured countenance, he was receaved with gritt joy and blythnes, and banquetted royallie with all delicatis that could be gottin : and evir that he sould not have any suspitione of ony deceit to fallow thairvpoune. Than at the last manie of the earle's freindis being skailled aff the toun, and opportunitie servand, with adwyse and consent of the governour, quha came then of sett purpos to Edinburgh. Than the chancellour, efter the coursis war takin away from the dinner, presented ane bullis head befor the earle Douglas, quhilk was ane signe and token of condemnatorie to the dead. But this earle and his brother, beholding the manifold treasons, with sad myndis and drearie countenan-

ces, start up from the boord, and maid them to loup at any place they might gett out. But then fra hand ane companie of armed [men] rusched round about thame, quha breaking all kynd of law and hospitalitie, led thame out to the Castle hill, with Sir Malcolme Fleming of Cumbernald, and vtheris gentlmen, thair familiaris, and strak the headis from thame. This was done in the yeir of God 1448 ycires. It is said the king being bot ten yeires of age, grat verie sore quhan he saw the men of weir bind the earle's handis and his brotheris with cordis, and lamented verie heavilie; and prayed the chancellour for Godis sak to latt them allone and save thair lyves for ony plesour he wold desir of him : and thairfor, the chancellour boasted the king verie scharplie, saying, it was not for no privie hatred that he buir to the earle Douglas, or his favoureris or frieindis, that he sould thoall the deid that day according to his deservingis ; bot becaus he was ane plaine enemy to the kingis awin persone, and ane manifest tratour to the commonwealth, and so long as they war on lyffe, the realme wold nevir be at peace and rest, but that if he war cutted aff, the realme sould be at greater tranquillitie. Than fra hand,

without any ruth or pitie, thir gentlman war hurled furth as said is.

From thence forth the realme was quyeter for ane certaine tyme, nor it was befor, albeit not long. Efter this, his vncle succeded James, his father brother to Williame earl of Annerdaill, Lord Balveny, quho was called grose James, becaus of his stature: for this Williame had no bairnes of his bodie, nor brother to succed to him. This James was the sewinth earle of Douglas, and was no les hated of the leidges nor his predecessouris war: becaus schortlie after hirschip and slauchter rang als fast in his dayes, and speciallie within the boundis, as evir it did a befoir. Not that he mantened any theifis or murtheris, bot that he punished thame not: for he thought to excuse himselff with his grounnes and inhabilitie of bodie. Otheris thought, that although he had nevir rissin out of his bed, he sould have had such men about him at his command, as sould have suppressed all oppressione within his boundis. Bot he leived not long, for he deceased in Abercorne, the third yeir efter he was maid earle. This James had sewin sones, to whom the eldest succedit be the tailzie of the landis of the earldome of Douglas. Bot that the landis

that war tailzied fell in heritage to ane sister of the said Williames, the landis of Galloway; and thairfor shoe was called the fair maidin of Galloway. Thair fell also to hir, Wigtone, Annerdail, Balvenie, and Ormond. And it is to be vnderstood that this James, called grose James, followand the inclinatioun of many otheris to conqueis greater rentis to his posteritie nor he had himselff: thinking it was wickednes to denud the old heritage of ane hous; and be the contrair it was wisdome to apply the dominiones left by the forbearis, and thairfor to compyll all thir landis forsaidis in ane togidder: and to this effect procured the Pope's dispensation to marie his eldest sone upon his brotheris dochter, sister to the said vmquhill Williame. Be this caus but doubt the wholl landis sould be vnited in one. Yitt notwithstanding the rest of the Douglas kinrid thinkand the mariage. to be vnleisum, as they thought; that over gritt riches, and landis over lairge, was odious vnder ane king, quhilk within schort quhill sould be exterminatioun to the surname, and rooting out perpetuallie of the hous. The principall of the Douglassis that diswaded this mariage and annexatioun of the landis, was the earle of Angus, and Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith, knyght;

both discendit out of the earle of Douglas hous.

When ane hes over meikle, aither it provockis the possessouris thair of, to attempt sum ungodlie purpose, or els for ane licht cryme or suspitione, that the kingis or princes takis of thame, sometymes that they are broucht to vtter distruction and confusione. Bot this James, called grose James, was nothing moved at these wordis, and als vnderstanding that the king him selfe was to put inhibitione to this marriage betuixt his sone and his brotheris dochter, he haisted the same with greater diligence, not spairing tyme forbiddin, as was the vse than, and caused solemnize the band of matrimonie. Quhairfor the people, moved with scrupilositie, judged and said that that marriage could nevir be prosperous nor happie, quhilk was of treuth, and the people not beguyllled of this opinion.

Many nighbouris feidis arraise on everie pairt, and that the rather be the said Williame sone to the said James, or els be his assistouris, and namlie throw Jon Cormak ane Atholl man, ane of the principall sworne tyrrantis to the earle Douglas; quha with ane companie of bloodie tyrrantis, sett vpon Sir Williame Ruthven of that ilk, scheriff principall of Pearth;

to have slaine himselff, and rest ane brigant theife of Atholl, fra the kingis justice, whom the schirreff wold have justified. Bot this Sir William Ruthven sieing the danger cuming sua suddenlie vpoun him, was meikle abased, and prayed his freindis and gentlmen that war with him for the tyme, to tak guid part with him, and not to thoall thamselffis to be murthered with ane number of vniversall theifis. And it was so long foughtin with doubtsum chance, quhill at the last the schrefe was victour, and Jon Cormak with threttie of his men manfullie slaine vpoun midsummer day 144 [3] yeires.

Schort quhill after this, thair followed ane other combat at Dumbartone, to no les danger of the countrie than the other. Robert Semple and Patrick Calbraith, deputes to the kingis selff, (quha then was fourteine yeires of aige, having the government of the realme in his awin handis,) to keip the castle of Dumbartane as principall, begane to stryve among thamselffis, quhilk of thame sould be principall captane thairof, and when they could not aggrie in wordis, they pulled out swordis and fought richt cruellie, quhill at the last Robert Sempill was slaine; and that Patrick Calbraith being verie familiar with the earle Douglas, took the Castle in keeping without

any delay. The earle Douglas begane to muse vpoun this slauchter how that he was judged to be principall mover of both the combattis, through all the realme and court, thinkand that thair could cum na guid of thir thingis, at leist when the king came to perfyte aige, if he a mendit not in tyme. Thairfoir tuik purpos to pas to the king in Stirling, to get ane remissioun of all thingis, and begane to leive ane better lyfe in tymes cuming. Sua being accompanied with a number of folkis, past to the king in Stirling : and than at the first incuming fell vpoun his knies and put himselff and all that he had in the kingis will, desiring remissioun of faultis committed be him, and that he might have licence to awaite vpoun his majestie, bot as the soberest courteour in his grace's companie, quhilk if he wold doe of his gracious mercie, he promised to be als serviceable as any man within the realme, and als swore the great oath that he sould persue all theifis and brigantis to the vttermost of his power. The king with great humanitie of this noblman offerrand himselffe willinglie in his handis, not onlie remitted him of all his offencis, bot also maid him principall of his secreit counsall, and vsed him most familiar of any man.

Thairefter ane lang tyme, this Williame be-

ing familiar with the king, bare himselfe verie pleasantlie to everie man, and did nothing bot that which appeired to everie man to be weill done for the weillfare of the country ; so, creip- and peace and peace into the kingis conceitt, tarried vpoun opportunitie of tyme to be a venged vpoun his enemies, and namlie vpoun Sir Williame Crichtoun, chancellour, quha so mischantlie had put down his eame Williame, earle of Douglas, and his brother ; quhill the earle appeased his anger on this wyse. The chancellour persavand that he was highlie offendit at him, he denudit him selff of the chancellarie, and past his way with his awin kine and freindis to Edinburgh, thinking he might most easilie, being in the Castle, eschew the dangeris and injuries that the earle Douglas was prepareand for him; and furnished the castle with munitione, men, and victuallie, stronglie. It is to be vnderstood, that not this gentlman him allone feared the earle Douglas, bot also the governour, dread- and him in the same maner, denuidit himselff of all offices that he baire a befoir, except the keeping of the Castle of Stirling, and depairtit haistilie aff of court. Then the earle Douglas, be whois moyane and convoy all the court was guydit, thought he had sufficient tyme

and opportunitie to revenge all injures done to his freindis a befoir, caused sumond Sir Williame Crichtoun, suntyme chancellour, and Alexander Levingstoun, sumtyme governour, with his tuo sones, Alexander and Sir James, knightis, all be ane herald, to vnderly the law for sick crymes as the kingis majestie had to ly to thair chairge, with certificatioun and they compeired not, they sould be denuncit as tratouris to his hienes horne. Besydis this, he thought if they compeired he sould gett his will of thame. Thir noblmen being sumondit as said is, wreat againe ane answer to the kyng, devysed be all thair consentis, saying, " that thair was nothing more dear to thame nor the weillfare of the kingis persone and stabilitie of the realme, readie with sick obedience and service as becumeth subjectis to doe to thair prince, bot, becaus they knew thair deadlie enemies who rulled the court, workand all to thair confusione, lyk to obteine his intent pairtlie through the great favour that the king bure to the earle Douglas, and pairtlie through his great puissance, that they sould be overthrowne if the came; thairfoir it was expedient for thame to give place and flie the furie of thair enemies quhill all injuries war sett a syd and at rest, and the

commounweill in tranquillitie, and then they sould doe sick honour and reverence as became thame dewlie for the weillfare of this realme. For it was uerie vnliklie to thame to committ thamselvis to the present danger, quhilk they knew perfytlie to cum; and at-tour, although it was the kingis commande-ment and chairge, it was thought vnworthie that manteinaris of theifis and brigantis sould have beine surrogat in thair places, wha war constitute in thame be the nobilitie of the realme and be the voces of lordis of parlia-ment, and rulled the same with the favour of all guid favouraris of the commounweill, be the counsall of potent and ambitious tyrrantis, labourand day by day to promoue ill mis-cheivous tyrrantis to dignitie and honour, to the heavie dampnage of the commounweill, and dreadfull terrour of the kingis leidges of the realme."

The earle Douglas perceaved thair high contemptione of his auctoritic; he caused to proclame ane parliament to be holdin att Stir-ling, quhair the saidis persones war forfalt and denounced tratouris and rébellis to the horne, and gave chairge to [Sir John] Forrester of Corstorphine, to inbring all thair moveables to the kingis vse, quhilkis war escheit. Ef-

ter this all men war chaired to pas fordward with displayed baner, be opine proclamatioun, to invaid thir men as commoun enemies to the croun; and so ane armie of men being gathered, they seidged the Castle of Brankstoun in Lothiane, quhilk was rendred fra hand, so soone as they saw the kingis standart: and the men war lattin furth frie, with bag and baggage, and the castle castin down to the ground.

To revenge thir injuries, Sir Williame Crichtoun gathered ane armie of his kine and freindis, and first he brunt the haill landis of Corstorphine, and carried away the guidis and geir that might be gotten, and thairefter invaidit the earle Douglas landis with fire and sword, and brunt all the corne and corneyairdis, villages and tounes. But the earle Douglas perceaved the chancellour to be boustred vp with his freindis to his heavie dampnage and skaith, amongst whom he suspected principall, James Kennedie, bischop of Sanct Androis, sister-sonne to King James the First, and thairefter send wryttingis to the earle Crawfoord and Alexander Ogilbie of Inverquhairtie, tua speciall freindis, courteouris, to mak hirschip vpoun the bischopis landis, and if they might apprehend himselff, to keip

him quick in prisone within yrones quhill farther advertisement. This chaarge they fulfilled, and hirried not onlie the bischopes landis, bot also the haill landis adjacent thairto, and broucht great preysis of guidis out of Fyffe into Angus. As to the bischop, he conteined himselff in safe gaird, thinking it becam him not to be ane fighter: Bot that he thought it expedient to vse his awin auctoritie vpoun sick as inuaidit him, as said is; and thairfoir summondit the earle of Crawfoord, and laid vpoun him ane sentence of cursing for his contempstione of the censur of holy kirk; quhilk the earle highlie vilipendit, as a thing of no strenth; without dread either of God or man. Bot lang efter, when the earle was labourand verie diligentlie to conciliat his sone and Alexander Ogilbie forsaid, to the old freindschip keipit betueine thair freindis befoir, he was slaine, as sal be shawne heirefter. His sone, Alexander Lindsay, succeidit. This discord, quhilk fell betweine thame for ane meane bailiarie of Arebroath, quhilk pertaint to Alexander Lindsay; bot Alexander Ogilbie, quhidder it came of his awin ambitione, or if it was the abbottis pleasour, it is not certane, vsurped the bailiarie to himselfe, and put this Alexander fra the same. Quhairfoir,

being robbed of his ryght, he gathered ane companie of his freindes, and speciallie the Hamiltones, quho assisted him for the tyme, and tuik the way, thinkand he sould debaitt be strenth quhilk he could not doe be law. Alexander Ogilbie, on the other syd, gathered ane great companie of men, amongst whom it happined Alexander, earle of Huntlie, to be for the tyme, and cam forwardis with displayed banner, and arrayed battell, vnto Ardbroth, to tak the same be force. Quhilk being schowin to the earle of Crawfoord, being in Dundie for the tyme lying, to stop all mischeife that might befall his freindis, he cam postand to thame in all haist. Scantlie was he cum to thame, when both the armies was joyned, and almost choked togidder. Yet he stopped his sone, Alexander, to mak any on-sett, and, when he was cuming in proper persone to Alexander Ogilvie's folkis, to tak ane freindly intercommound with all debaittes betuixt his sone and thame, ane souldiour, not knowing quhat he was, nor quhairfoir he came, strack him in at the mouth with ane spear, and out at the neck, and sua incontinent he died in ane guid actione, labourand to put Christiane men to peace, conquest great comendatioun of all men, albeit he was

verrie insolent all the rest of his lyfetye. Quhilk, when his sone and freindis beheld, they war so enraged, that they suddenlie rushed vpoun thair enemies with gritt ire. Bot they, vpoun the other syd, resisted the preas, and held aff thair adversaries richt manfullie for a long quhyll. For, at the last, the laird of Inverquharitie, principall, was deidlie woundit, and ane great pairt of his valiant men, in the throatt of the batle, war slaine. They gave back, and many of them, in the fleing, war slaine; amongis whom, John Forbes of Pit-sligo, Alexander Barclay of Gartley, James Maxwell of Teilling, Duncane Campbell of Campbellfeather, and Williame Gordoun of Borrowfeild, all barounes, with diverss otheris gentlemen. And thair was ane hunder slaine vpoun the other syd. To witt, the earle Huntlie, being destitute of his folkis in this maner, horsed him selfe, and fled a way to the hous of Inverquarritie to saife his lyfe, and was takin and brought living to Phenevin, quhair he died within schort whyll thairefter. The gentlmen war than honorablie buried in the kirk yaird. This battell was strickin in the yeir of God 1445 yeires.

After this, thair followed nothing but slaughter in this realme. In everie pairt ilk ane laid

wait for otheris, as they had been settand themselffis for slauchter of wyld beastis. Amongist whom Robert Boyd of Duchall, captane of Dumbartane, lay in waitt for Sir James Stewart of Auchinto, quho was but sixteine men in traine, and schortlie, or evir James Stewart had tryell that onie man vnbesett his gaitt, ane companie of armed men rasched round about him, and slew him cruellie a litle from Kirkpatrick ; and thairefter fra hand tuik his wayff out of hir awin hous, and brought hir captive to Dumbartone : whasaiflie promised that shoe sould get na skaith. Bot when shoe perceived hir selff mocked in this maner, through high displeasour of hir husbandis slauchter, shoe pairted tymouslie of ane dead bairne, and died hir selse the thrid day thairefter.

Erter this Archibald Dumbar seidged the castle of Haillis in Lothiane, and at the first assault he wan the same, and slew thame that he found thairin. Schortlie efter he was seidged be James Douglas, in whoise will he pat himselff, and the castle, bot fardder debaitt. Innumerable slauchteris war this yeir in Annerdaill, quhair the people war (and yitt ar) givin to murther and slauchter. Schortlie mischeife rang so commoun in all pairtis, that

manie gentlmen of the realme, sieing thair was no regaird of the king, nor the earle Douglas' forces, wha was principall guyder of the court, contained thamselffis in strong holdis and fortressis, and thair freindis, and left thair guidis that might not be keiped within ane strenth to theifis and riveris to tak thame as they pleased: thinkand if they saied thamselffis, they had sufficient till ane better fortoun.

In the nixt yeir, the king, be the earle Douglas counsall, seidged the Castle of Edinburghe nyne monthis togidder: but at the last Sir Williame Crichtoun renderit the castle vpoun thir conditiones. That he and all that assisted him sould have ane frie remission for all offences bygane, and he himselffe to be reconceiled to the kingis favouris, after the old manner, as said is. And it was reformed againe of new better nor it was befoir.

Soone thairefter, ane Parliament was sett, to be holdin at Pearth, to consult vpoun all thingis perteaning to the commounweill; in the quhilk Sir Williame Crichtoun was received againe to the kingis favouris, and maid chancellour againe of new, be consent of the wholl nobilitie and parliament. Yitt he melled him not with no public affaires, bot baid ane better tyme, quhill he sould have beine

purged be ane assyse, for all kind of suspitione consarning the kingis majestie. The same yeir Sir James Stewart, knyght, that married the kingis molher, was banisched becaus he spak sumtymes raschlie, that the realme was evill guided, quhilk redoundit to the defamatiōne of the earle Douglas. This Sir James Stewart, within schort quhill thairefter, was taken vpoun the sea be the Flemingis, with sum earles both of Scotland and Ingland, and led captive to Flanderis, quhair he died within schort whyll thairefter; and als his wayff, being king James the Secondis mother, hearand of hir husbandis death, died and was buried in the Charterhous of St Jonstoun, besyd hir first husband, king James the First, to whom shoe huire aucht bairnes, of the quhilk is thair was tuo sones, viz. king James the Second, the other called Alexander, quha died an infant: and six dochteris, all honorable married. Albeit thair followed not great successiōne of thame. The first called Margaret, wha was married vpoun the Dolphine of France, called Lues the Eleventh: the second Dame Heleine, married vpoun the Duck of Bartainzie: the third vpoun the Lord Camphear; and thairefter upoun : the fourth vpoun the Duck of Auchstrich, and thair-

efter vpoun the : the fyft vpoun
 the earle of Huntlie, called George, to whom
 shoe bure ane dochter, and thairefter paired
 with him, be the king hir brotheris consent:
 and thairefter the said George, married the
 earle Errollis dochter, of whom cam earle
 Alexander; earle Adame of Sutherland, and
 diveris vtheris; and the sixt married vpoun the
 earle Mortoun. The queine bure to Sir James
 Stewart thrie sones; John quho was maid earle
 of Atholl, James, earle of Buchane, called
 earle James; the third Andro, bischop of Mur-
 ray.

Schort quhill thairefter, Sir Williame Crich-
 toun, chancellour, be convoy of Carolus the
 Sewint, king of France, was sent to spous
 Margaret, the duke of Gildares dochter, to be
 brocht home to wayff to king James the Se-
 cond. The gentlwoman was grantit frielie,
 and honorablie convoyed be the lord Cam-
 pheir: the marquis of Beigie, earle of Nassou,
 the bis-hopis Camri and Levergie. Attour thair
 came ane prince of Rauestoun, with otheris
 diverss noble knyghtis and squyiris. The ma-
 riage being solemnized, thair was ane parlia-
 ment holdin at Edinburgh: in the quhilk, be
 the counsall of sum ambitious flattereris, Sir
 Alexander Livingstoun, sumtyme governour,

Alexander Livingstoun, his eldest sone, Robert Livingstoun, sumtyme thesaurer, and David Livingstoun, both discendit out of the hous of Callendar, James Dundas, and Robert Bruce of Clackmanane, knightis, war takin. Albeit they war takin, they war reconceilled to the kingis majestie, and had to divers places and imprisoned, and all the lordis of parliament requested him to relax thame. Yitt for the high hatred the courteouris had conceived againes thame, they war keiped in prisone contrair to all law and reasone, quhill the sewint day of December: Then they war brought to Edinburgh, and thair Alexander Levingstoun, sumtyme governour, James Dundas, and Robert Bruce, payed gritt sowmes of money, and thairefter, war wairded in Dumbartone, and the rest was headed. It is said, that this Alexander, when he was vpoun the scaffold, turned him to the people, and maid ane gritt oratione, deplorand the mutabilitie of fortoun; exorting all gentlmen and nobles of the realme to tak example be him of the fragill facilitie of the world. Att sumtyme, he was ane man of singular guid witt and prudence. His father was chosin governour of the realme, and quhair he buire himself freindis and chairges so prosperouslie, with

so great commendatione of all men, that his father loved him above all thingis. But yitt, through change of court, it was force to draw themselfis to strenthis for the defence of thair lyffes, and preservatione of thamselvis to better fortoun, quhill at the last thair innocencie was tryed: They war reconceilled to the kingis favour, quhilk indured not long: for schort tyme thairefter, be the fals suggestione of flatterand courteouris, they war wairded againe: Now, his father wairdit, himselfe not adjudged be neutrall men of [sincere] good conscience, bot be his deadlie enemies, to vnderly ane schamfull dead, as he had beine ane tratour: and thairfor, desired all noblmen not to desir great offices in court, albeit they did appear to be both honour and commoditie, for they that are promoted, to great offices when they slyd, they gett the sairest fall, and when they ar put down, if they be loved on the ane pairt be guid men, for thair worthie behaviour, the salbe reproached vpon the other syd be wicked men. Thir wordis being said, he fell down vpoun his knees; and streched out his craige to the sword; ane lamentable sight to behold, to the displeasour of the people.

The yeir efter, the queine pairted with bairne, bot nane knew by quhat meane. The

bairne was borne quick, and died schortlie thairefter. In the same yeir, the royall wallis being castin doun, thair was the bodie of ane young chyld found in ane heap of leid, vompled vp in sandill, als fresch and vncorrupted, and alsweill in cullour as the first hour it was buried. This was judged of thame, that had curiositie of old antiquities, to be the sone of Queine Margaret, quha deceist in his infancie.

Attour, the peace and trowis taine with England, expyred the same yeir, and thairfor, the Scottis maid sundrie incursiones and raides in Ingland, waistand all with fyre and sword quhair evir they came. The earle of Shrewsberrie being wairdin and leivtennent, for the tyme vpoun the Inglisch bordouris, to revenge thir injuries, invaidit Scotland againe vpoun the wast border on the ane pairt, and brunt Drumfries, with manie other tounes, and returned home againe with great preysis of guidis. And als the earle of Northumberland, for his pairt, cam vpoun the east borderis, and brunt Dumbair, and hirried it. This same yeir, George Douglas, not willing to be in ane Inglisch manes commoun for ane evill turne, gathered ane companie of chosin men, and brunt Annick : out of the quhilk, he gathered

ane great prey both of men and guides or evir he returned againe in Scotland: Bot prisone-eris of both the realmes war changed and rendret againe, man for man, on both sydis. Sick hirschip was maid at this tyme on both the sydis, that both the realmes war constrained to tak peace for sewin yeires to cum.

In the meanetyme, when sick things war in doing, the earle Douglas having the haill guyding of the court, laboured daylie to promote his friendis to honour and dignitie, obtained fra the king the marriage of [Agnes] Dumbar, youngest dochter to James, earl of Murray, to Archibald Douglas, his brother, and sua maid him earle of Murray. This James deceased bot any aires maill of his bodie, and sua the landis came to female bē devocatioun of the king. This Williame, earle of Douglas, not content of this augmentatioun to his hous, promoted James his brother, to the lordschip of Balveny, and George Douglas to the earldome of Ormond, in parliament, quho was also declaired, and chosin principall counsallouris of the realme. But sundrie suspected that this suddene promotioun to so great dignitie, sould schortlie have ane decay, for they saw the earle Douglas so covetous, givin to

mak vp his friendis, and so inordinat to promote thame to lordschipis and landis for the strenth of his awin hous : quhairthrow suddenlie thought to mak ane barre to the king himselffe, if thair chanced any alter of court. And thairfoir, everie man judged that sudden and prosperous success sould not long continue.

Bot now, since it hes chanced ws to speak of the translatioun of the hous of Murray fra the Dumbaris to the Douglassis, it is expedient to speak of the diversitie of surnames that vsed the same with great laud and praise, since king Robert the Bruce, the first of that name, evin vnto this present tyme, who bure thaimselffis both in peace and warre richtwyslie and manfullie at all tymes.

Robert Bruce gave the earledome of Murray to his awin sister sone, Sir Thomas Randell of Strathdown, knyght, cheife of the Clan Allane, whose workis can testifie of his lyfe, in the fourteenth book, rehearsit befoir of the same historie, and failzieand him and aires of his bodie, that it sould retorne againe to the croun. This Thomas had tuo sones ; bot cannot tell quho was thair mother : the eldest named Thomas, quho succeeded to his fatheris place. The othet called John, quho bot any

successioun of thair bodies, was both slaine at the battle of Dumblane, in Stratherne, fight-and manfullie to the dead, for defence of this realme, invaidit be the Inglischmen, our old enemies. He had also dochteris: The oldest was called Blak Annas, be reasoun of hir skine. This Annas was ane voman of gritt spirit, more nor came ane woman to be; quho was married vpoun Patrick, earle of Merch. The second was called Jeall, and was married vpoun Johne, brother to the earle of Merch, and bure to him George, quho succedit to his fatheris brother heritable to the earldome of Merche. Ane other sone called John, ane man of singular bewtie and vertew. This John, for his vertew and manheid, was married vpoun king Robertis second dochter, and was promoted to the earledome of Murray; for it returned againe to the kingis hous, be reasoun that it failled in the aires maill of Sir Thomas Randell, and this was the fyft of the Dumbaris that bruikit the landis of Murray; quho begat Thomas Dumbar, quho succedit to his father, and ane other called Alexander Dumbar, quho married Mauld Fraiser, heretrix of Frendraucht. This forsaid earle Thomas had ane sone called Thomas, the fyft of that name and surname, quho died

without aires of his bodie : and so James, sone to Alexander, his father brother, gottin vpoun Mauld Fraiser, succeidit in his place ; and this was the sixt Dumbar, earle of Murray, quho was also laird of Frendraucht. This James begatt, vpoun Issobell Innes, dochter to the laird of Innes, Alexander Dumbar, ane man of singular vertew and courage. This Issobell was bot handfasted with him and de- ceased befor the marriage, quhairthrow this Alexander was worth ane better living nor might succeid to him be the lawis of the countrie. Efter this Issobellis deceas, this James, earle of Murray, married Kathereine, dochter lafull to Alexander Seaton, as is sup- poned, the first earle of Huntlie, called Gord- doun, quho bure to him ane dochter, the quhilk was married vpoun Sir William Crich- toun, air to the lord Crichtoun foresaid : and gott with hir the lairdship of Frendraucht into tocher. The youngest was married vpoun Archibald Douglas, quho was promoted to the earledome of Murray, as said is. Bot this Archibald being convict and forfait for les majestie, the earledome returned to the kingis handis againe.

But latt us retorne to our purpos and historie quhair we left. This Williame, earle Dou-

glas, being so insolent through the high promotioun, begane to manteane so many as war plaine flattereris, and awowed his doingis, and war readie at his command to execute sick mischiefe as was his pleasour. He promoted tham, yea, many of them from meane estat to gritt riches, aboue thair degries. Bot quhat soevir he was so hardie to reproach his doingis, for it gainstood many menis consciences, howsoone it came to his eares, he caused thame to vnderly the law, quhair he being judge and pairtie, spoilzied thame sakleslie of thair lyves. Be the contrair, so many as dependit vpoun him, albeit they had beine nevir so guyltie, they war overseine, or elis he gave thame fair respettis and remissiounes of all thair offences; quhairthrow they being bendit vp with sick licentious prerogatives aboue otheris, they set no difference betuixt richt and vrong, oppressioun, ravisching of vomen, theft, sacraledge, and all other kynd of mischiefe, was bot ane daliance, so that it was lesum to any defender vpoun ane Douglas to slay or murthir, for thair name was so feared to, everie innocent man, that when any mischeivous limmer was apprehendit for ane cryme, no man durst produce them to the kingis justice, if they alleged that they slew ane Dou-

glas tenant or wassal. Through this vnequall punishing of innocentis, and great favour that he bure to tarrantis and malefactoris, everie man begane to hat his tyrannie and crueltie, for he regairded no man, nor of the love and favour of the people, bot he glored to be dred of all men; to theife and traytour he was ane sicker targe, and be the contrair, ane plaine enemye to good men, thinking it was ane great pleasour to spoyle thame of thair lyves, and weill win to hirrie thame of thair goodis and geir, and not onlie spoiled thame of thair places and slew thair freindis, quhom he favoured not, without all equitie of law, bot also spoiled kirkis and chappellis quhairevir he cam, and committed the jewellis thair of to his prophane vse and proffeit. So all good men behoved to keip silence, and not to cry out vpoun his tyrannie.

Att this tyme James Kennedie, bischop of Sanct Androis was ane man of singular vertew and verie guid lyffe, held himselff quyet, waitting vpoun ane better fortoun, thinking that it was follie to stryve against the streame, having great hope, that no gritt crueltie, that was so exercised, sould bot have ane sudden end.

In this meane tyme fell ane horrible cace to John Cameron bischop of Glasgow, principall rueller of the prince, and his ruellaris; and to all mischeiffe and innocent slauchter, done in thir troublous tymes, ane marvellous example to all mortall man, to withdrave thameselffis from all vicked counsall, abuse, and vicked tyrannie. For he caused thame to exerce oppressioun vpoun the realme, as he had done himselff vpoun the poore tennentis of Glasgow, sua that quhen the power divyne of God had permitted him to scourge and overune the people on this wayes, for ane certain space, he thought to put ane end to his tyrannie. At last, vpoun Yuill evin, quhen he was lying sleiping in his bed, thair cam on thunderring voyce out of heavin, crying and summonding him to the extreame judgment of God, quhair he sould give an account of all his cruell offences, bot ony fardder delay. Throw this he vakened out of his sleip, and tuik great fear of this noviltie. Bott yitt he believed it to be nothing bot ane verie dreame, and no trew vairneing, for the amendement of his vicked lyfe; yitt he called for his chamber boy, and caused him to light candles, and to remaine ane whyll besyd him, till he had recovered the fear and dreadour that he had ta-

kin in his sleip. Be he had weill takin ane book and red ane little space thairupoun, the same voyce and wordis war heard with no lese fear and dreadour than befoir, quhilk maid thame affrayed that war about him for the present: so that non of thame had ane word to speak to another; thinkand no lese than suddene mischeife to befall tham all. And frae hand the same voyce and wordis war more vgsumlie hard cry nor befoir. The bischop renderit the spirit haistilie at the pleasour of God, and schew out his tongue most vyldlie as he had beine hanged vpoun ane gallous. Ane terrible sight to all murtheraris and oppressouris of the poore. Bot alase the wicked mynd of men, boldin with all conceived malice, dreadis nevir the terrible judgment of God, nor the good and godlie men ceass nevir to imbrace his good and godlie merceis. Bot to our historie.

Albeit the realme of Scotland was troubled and afflicted in this maner, yitt the realme of Ingland stodd in no better state nor their nightbouris did: for Hendrie the Sixt being bot ane hairie of six yeires of aige, crouned of France and Ingland, thair fell ane discord betuixt the Burgones and the Inglischmen, oppressand France, with warre, fyre, and sword, arysing throw the slauchter of the

earle of Sarrisberrie, who was slaine be the shott of ane gune, vncertaine by quhom. This slauchter and discord was verrie pleasant and profitable to the Frenchmen, who was governed and rulled in warres be ane voman of excellent spirit, called the maiden of France: for at this tyme they began to be better of courage, and recover monie of the landis quhilkis the Inglischmen had rest from thame befor, and not onlie triumphed they againes thame, that is to say againes the Inglismen, bot also became victorious againes quhatsumevir people or natioun they had debaitt or quarrell. Bot the Inglismen, thinking to augment thair strenth, be ane new allyance and affinitie, married this young king Hendrie the Sixt, vpoun the Duke of Lorange dochter, and lightlied the honorabell mariage of the duk of Orange dochter, quha was promised to him in marriage a befoir. Sua in contracting of new freindschip, the losed the old, quhairat the duik of Orange tuik sick hatred and indignatioun, that with nobles, freindis, and familiaris, he left the Inglischmen, and gave over the band betuixt thame, and thairfoir, fra hand as the vnfortunat chance of worldlie affaires befallis, that mischeife followis mischeife, thair araise seditoun and marvellous discord in Ing-

land, amongst thamselffis; for monie of the nobles invyed the governance and impyre of the duik of Glocester, quho was chosin protectour of Ingland, induring the kingis minoritie, gathered ane conventioun, quhair they tuik him and put him in prisone for that night, and hanged him vpon the morne thairefter, as if he had been ane commoun theife. The principall mover of this mischiefe was the duik of Bukinghame, the earle of Bewmont, and the constable of Ingland. Bot how soone this vyle act was devulgat throw the realme, the duik of Gloucester's kine and freindis gathred and invaidit all pairtes with fire and sword, quhairthrow the earle of Bedford, Somersaitt, and Shrewisberrie, quho being destitute of the defence of Normandie, to gainstand thair enemies in France, and being destitute of thair freindis and kinsmen, quho war in France and Ingland, war compelled to withdraw thamselvis homward. And so they lost the noble toun of Rowane, with manie other guid tounes in Normandie.

How soone thir novellis war spread in Ingland, the commouns in Ingland with no lese mischeife nor the rest, cheised thame ane Irland man to be thair chiftane, and then cam fordward purposing to cum to London, boast-

ing right highlie to be avenged vpoun the nobles of the realme. The king being directed sum gaitt in so gritt an variance, gathered ane armie of all kynd of people, and send thame forth to repres the proudnes of the commounes; vpoun quhom the commounes rusched so rudlie and furiouslie, that they vanquished thame with small difficultie. Efter passed to London, quhair they desyred sum speciall courtiouris to be rendrit [in] thair handis, and speciallie the Lord Gray thesaurer, the bischope of Salisberrie, and the Lord Dudlie. Sua thir men war givin to thame to dispone at thair pleasour, thinking that throw the sacrifice of those menis lyves, all the rest might eschew the present danger. Bot thir commounes war sufferred with the slaughter of the lord Gray. Thairefter they wairdit the rest in strong wairdes and fortalices. Bot als soone as the lord Gray was execute, they begane to spoyll the toun, and slew all the citizenes, bot ruth or pitie, that maid any defence for thair gear. This and such lyk crueltie maid the governour of Ingland astonished, thinkand that if they gott not remeid haistilie thairto, thir commounes sould overrun thame as they done the rest. Efter long consultation, they caused the chancellour wryt

to the commounes and thair captaine, to stay and skaill their armie, quhill if they stanchid thair vproare, they promissid thame frie remissioun of all byganes and offences, and to promove Hendrie thair captaine to great honour and dignitie. The people war soone allured, be the fair and pleasant wordis, who, when the high furie oppressed thame, they desired to have beine at home, willing to rid thamselvis of sick cumberis and enormities as they had entred in a befor. Sua Hendrie thair captane being left be thame, for whoise caus he attempted so high presumptioun; he was takin and beheaded for his temerarious interpryse: and his taker got ane thousand pund sterling for his rewaird. Then the nobles sieing that so long peace had ingendered so grit riches amonges the commounes, quhairthrow they became so proud and insolent, that they perturbed the countrie in this wyse. Efter long consultatioun, they thought nothing better nor to wreak thame with extreame warres, quhairthrow they begane to gar Humber, Cumber, and Northumberland to provock warres.

It has beine the vse of this Ille of Brittain, since it was inhabited aither be Scottis or Inglishmen, that when evir they had warres with

thair enemies, they could never be sae easie dravin fra all civill discord : and be the contrair, being at dissentioun amongst thaimselfis, they were compelled to desist thairfra be moveing of extreame warres. So the Inglismen as said is invadit the borderis both with fire and sword ; and hirried and tuik gritt preyis, both of men and guidis ; and so manie Scottismen as maid defence to thair invasioun, war cruellie slanie. .

The Scottis men knowing weill the intentioun of the Inglismen, and quhat counsall was maid be thame was brokin, and also the occasioun quhairthrow the warres begane : to revenge thir injuries done to thame, they gathered ane great armie of men, and in the same maner invaided Ingland, burnand and slayand quhairvir they cam, and returned home againe with great preyis both of men and guidis. So the countrie being invaidit on this maner on aither syd, and deadlie troubled with slauchter and hirschip, as said is ; the landis of Cumber was allutterlie waisted and destroyed ; for the Scottismen, invaidit that countrie with greatest cruellie, by resoun they war the first provokeris of warres and battell. But how soon this was schowin to the nobles of Ingland, they gathered ane armie of fourtie thou-

sand men, and send thame to invaid Scotland with greater expeditioun nor was beleived. Thair chiftane and lievtennent of the armie was the earle of Northumberland, and Magnus Rid, knyght of the ordour of the garter, quho was brocht up in his youthhead in the warres of France : and thairfor, had so great knowledge and experience of warres and warlick affaires, and als illustrat with sick manhood, that he was called the Inglismenes father in the warres, who was called be the Scottismen Magnus with the rid navie. It is said that this man had sick indignatioun at the Scottismen, that he desired in ane great wraith and anger of king Harie, als meikle of Scottis ground as he might conquais in Scotland, be the inhabitants thair of, and expelling of thame : quhilk was granted him.

In this meane tyme, the Scottismen war richt diligent to prepair all sick thingis as war necessar for thair releife : to quhom George Douglas, earle of Ormond, was maid leivetennent, quho gott knowledge be exploraturis, that the Inglisemen war cum in Annerdaill, and had transported thair armie over the water of Sulvey, and had stented thair palliones on the watter of Sark ; after they war camped on this wyse, vpoun the morne efter

they had passed throw the countrie, and hirried and slew quhom evir they fand. Bot knowand that the Scottis armie was approach-and so near thame, they tuik great fear, and caused thame all that was burnand and slay-and, as said is, to retire be sound of trumpet to the camp againe, quhair they put thame-selffis in arrayed battell ; and in the vangaird was Magnus Reid, and in the reirgaird was all the Welsch men placed ; to quhom Jon O-peneron was maid chiftane, ane man of guid report, and of guid spirit in worldlie affaires, and the earle of Northumberland was in the midle waird with the rest of the multitud of the men of warre. One the other syd, the Scotismen placed thame-selffis verie crafterlie, for George, earle of Ormond, was in the staill himself. The laird of Craigiwallace, ane noble knyght of soverane manhood, was vpoun the richt wing ; the lord Maxwell, and the laird Johnstoun on the left wing, with ane chos-in companie of thair freindis ; and manie other gentlemen of the realme. Soone be the armies war arrayed, the earle of Ormond said to his fellowis on this maner. “ I requeist yow, most valient championes, to remember, it is for no vrongous quarrell, or in persute, but rather in our defence and saftie of our selffis, from the

injuries of our enemies, and thair tirranie. And yea all know, that in doeing so a besoir, it is turned to our disadvantage and displeasour : for we have experience quhair we have beine most justlie invaidit be thane, yitt the infinit favour of God hes beine evir readie to the just, and hes maid the victorie to inclyne to ws by menis expectatioun : and yea may be assured, that the victorie standis not in the multitud of men, bot in guid courage, directed from a just quarrell. Thairfore, latt ws depend vpoun Godis providence, and luik for victorie, if that your willis be to delyver your selffis, your wayffis and hairnes from the tyrannie of your enemies." Be thir woordis war said, the trumpetis sounded to joyne the armies: bot at the beginning, cam sick ane shour of dartis and arrowis vpoun the Scottis vangaird, that throw suddene fear, they took purpos to flie. Then Craiggiewallace begane to reproach them, saying, " It is not the dewtie of honest campiones to fear at the sight of thair enemies, and to deject thair courage befoir they cum to straikis. I exhort yow, thairfoir, to rusch forwardis vpoun your enemies with ane manlie countenance, and if yea pursue ane little whyll, think not bot the victorie sall inclyne in your handis, sieing your ac-

tioun is guid for the defence of your countrie. Follow me, thairfoir, and yea sall sie how happe a thing it is to put your lyves in parrell, for the resisting of your enemies, and delyverie of your selffis from thair tyrannie and bondage." Be thir wordis war said, his men war so intraged, and rushed so furiouslie vpoun thair enemies, with axes, spearis, and halbartis, and maid so great slauchter at the first to cuming, that they pat the Inglismen cleane a back from thair standart, and compelled thame at the last to tak the flyght. Magnus Reid, nothing effeired of this disadvantage, bot rather bendit up, and kindled thairat in greater ire nor became ane wyse chiftane, rushed forward vpoun Craigiewallace, thinking to have slaine him. But his men bure him back so cruellie, that with small difficultie, they slew him cruellie with all his guard. The rest of the Inglismen had no better fortun. Quhen the clamour raise amongst the Scottismen that Magnus Reid was slaine, the Inglisch chiftane, in quhom the Inglisch armie pat all thair confidence and felicitie, thair cam sick fear and dreadour vpoun thame, that they might not long susteane the preas of the Scottismen, bot gave backis. Vpoun quhom the Scottismen followed verie scharplie. Manie war slaine

in the thick of the battell, bot manie moe in the flyght. The watter boldinit with the filling of the sea, caused many to lose thair lyves, and perisch in the watteris. Vtheris sieand this, doubted whidder they sould fight and die with honour, or live with schame: and preferring the on to the other, war cruellie slaine vpoun the watter bankis. This battel was foughtin with great crueltie. Thair was slaine in it thrie thousand Inglismen, and the governor in the vanguard, and ellivin other noblemen, knyghtis of the ordour. And of the Scottismen, more nor six hunder. Thair was takin in this battell, John Openorene, and Robert Heringtoun twa noblmen English knyghtis, and als the earle of Northumberlandis sone, be whose convoy his father was horsed, and escaped his enemies. Thaire was taine ane great number of vtheris, and led captive in Scotland. Thaire was such abundance of riches, silver and gold gottin in the feild, that the lyke was nevir sene in no manes dayes a befoir. The spoyll was parted amongis the Scottismen, according to the rate of thair armes. Craiggiewallace was deadlie hurt in the feild, and died the third moneth thairefter.

The earle of Ormond returned home againe with great triumph and imprisoned the princi-

pall of the captives within the castle of Lochmabane. Efter this he was treated and banquetted be the kingis majestie, with great magnificence. It is said, in the meane tyme of the banquet, the king maid ane harring to him, and Williame earle of Douglas, his brother, saying, "Now my lordis, I beseik your lordschips, to remember, how happilie all thingis have succedit, and quhat honour cumes throw sage and wyse counsall, by the felicitie and renoun that chanced to all subjectis when they are rulled glaidlie, and vnder the obedience of a king or prince: and be the contrair quhat mischeife befallis thame that runes overhead to any purpose without regaird or foresight to God or man. It becumes all favoreris of the commoun weill, to conqueis all men that ar thair nighbouris to be thair freindis, and schow themselfis with all thair strenth strong enemies quhen they are urged to battell be their foes. For in so doeing the prince has pleasour to rule and governe the subjectis in peace and rest, frie from the injuries of thair enemies, and tirranie of oppressouris, and knowing that the conditoun and fashion of Douglassis from the beginning hes beine in this wyse, and yitt is, and as I suppone will be in tymes cuming. Bot

doubt thair is nothing so deare to me as the noblemen of the name of Douglas, quhilk I favour aboue all thingis, intirlic with my hairt, so that yea wold schow your selffis no worse myndit in the correctione of theifes and murthereris, nor yea have done your selffis, first and last, for the defence and libertie of this realme. For if theives and murthereris be not punisched, the poore anes nor the commones cannot leive in peace or rest: nor have no lyfe, quho ar the vpholders of the nobles, and perchance your awin kine and blood, albeit throw base estate they be degenerat; and being Christianes and participantis with yow of the favour of God, and obedience of the same prince, to whom yea ar subject. And thairfoir 'I exhort yow to proceed in the renouned fame quhilk all your forbearis have conquiest in tymes bypast."

Quhen the king had said, the earle thanked his majestie with great reverence, and promised to perseveir in all thingis as he had comandit; and nevir to thoall thift nor slauchter vnpunisched in tymes to cum: nor yitt lat the same pas vnrevenged. Sua thir noblemen tuik thair leives, and passed home to thair wayffes and bairnes; convoyed with thair kine and freindis, with great triumph, joy, and gladnes.

Efter this, the lordes and nobilitie of Scotland stood in guid peace, rest, and quietnes. Bot when the word of this sorrowfull battell cam to London, it maid all the nobles and people of the countrie verie afrayed. Yitt that they sould not appear allutterlie dejected of their vouted courage, they decerned in parliament to revenge this slauchter maid latlie in the battell of Sark. Bot when they gathered ane armie to send in Scotland, weill furnished with all kynd of viveris and muinition, thair suddainlie came ane civill discord amongst thaimselfis quhair of the lyk was never seine nor hard of before. The duik of York, the earles of Merch, Warwick, and Salisberrie, with monie other nobles of the realme, conspired against this Hendrie the Sixt, quhairfoir thei dissemblit that ire with the Scotismen, quhill ane more convenient tyme, and luik how bussie they war to vex ws with battell, being at quyetnes and rest, so they war als solícite to procure our peace, being troubled with warres amongst thaimselfis. They send ane ambassadour to treat for peace to the king of Scotland; quho be the advyce of the nobilitie, granted the same for three yeires: thinking it was not best to refus, sieing the Inglismen attemptis war sufficientlie punisch-

ed in the last battell, by the hand of God. This peace was maid in the yeir of God 1450 yeires, and this same yeir Sir Willame Colvill, knyght, sett vpoun James Auchintock, ane neir freind to the earle Douglas, and slew him with sundrie of his freindis, becaus he had sustained sundrie injuries of his freindis, and had nevir gottin redres thair of, notwithstanding that the said Sir Willame requyred him sundrie tymes for the same effect. Bot the earle Douglas tuik sick high indignatioun at the slauchter of his freind, that he swore solemndlie nevir to rest quhill he was revenged thair of. And first gathered ane armie of men, and hirried all the landis perteaning to the said sir Willame, and thairefter seided the castle quhair he was, quhilk schortlie was wone, and the said sir Willame and all vtheris that war thair in cruellie slaine, and the hous spoilzied. Thair was mainie of the countrie that commendit the earle Douglas his interpryse, for revenging of his freindis quarrell; if he had beine als diligent in punisching of murthereris and theifes that oppressed the poore commones: but manie hoped that this tyrannie sould sumtyme have ane end, that wexed thame at all tymes so cruellie.

At the last, the earle being so enriched throw

his awin great rentis, and buddis conquiest in court, and also be the great exhaustioun of the poore people, and be the great importance that fell vnto him be the oursieing of theives, he tuik purpose to visit other countries, to advance his mightines; in so far as he thought no man equall to him in this realme. So John Douglas, lord of Balvenie, a man most lyk to his awin conditiones of ony man, being constitute procuratour and oversier of all affaires belonging to him in Scotland, in his absence; and all necessary thingis being prepared for estate, took his journey towardis Flanderis, accompanied with his brother, Mr James Douglas, a man of guid conditione, and weill be-seine in divine letteris, broucht vp ane long tyme at the scooles in Paris, and luiked for the bischoprick of Dunkell; thairefter to the earledome of Douglas, thinking becaus the earle had beine so long married, and not having bairnes, dispaired that he sould procreat any in tymes cuming. Thair was in cumpanie with him manie nobles and knightes, amongst whom was the lordis and knightis of Hamilton, Grahame, Saltoun, Seatoun, and Oliphant, men of great estimatioun. Thair was vtheris of lower estate, as Cather, Vreuhart, Campbell, Forrester, and Laüther, all

knightis and gentlmen, whose convoy maid the earle so proud and insolent, that he represented ane kingis magnificence, quhair evir he came. Out of Flanderis he past in France, and out of France to Italie, and so forwardis to Rome. Bot the Romanes having knowledge of his cuming, mett him with ane honorable companie, and receaved him verie princie within the toun.

Bot within two monethis efter his departure, sume of the nobles of the realme invyed the earle Douglas promotione with so great rentis and dominiones, and oppressing of vtheris with his tyrannie, vsed of befoir, begane to de-laitt him, and schew his prydfull ambitione and disdaine of the people, and high offences sustained be everie man, the tyme of his great credit into court. Bot monie sieing place given to men that pleased to plenyie, begane daylie more and more to plenyie vpoun his tyrannie. Bot the king, as became ane wyse prince, gave no sudden credit in the earle's absence; and thairfoir, send ane herald to summond John, lord Balvenie, procuratour to the earle Douglas, to answer to sick complantis as war given in o^u himself, kine, and freindis. Bot sieing he was sumquhat stubborne to obey the command givin to him, the king caused

ane companie of men of warre to bring him in against his will. At the quhilk time, sum perswaded him to vse him verrie rigourouslie, otherwayis everie rebell wold gainstand the kingis auctoritie. They sieing no hastie punischment, and the king nothing moved with thair saying, who thought not best to punisch such thingis in this anger, bot rather obey all thingis gentlie, least, that if he sould have beine rigorous, thair sould have cum great inconvenientis and calamities vpoun the commonweill; and sua caused accuse him, and spear at him quhat excuse he had to repell his poyntis of dittay and injuries, that was laid to the earle Douglas charge, and vtheris that war of his counsell and dependantis. Quhilkis poyntis, when he could not gudlie collour thame, he pat himselff in the kingis will; who commandit him to restore to everie man his owin, efter, as he might gett tyme and opportunitie. Yitt how soone he escaped in this wayes, and was frie at the kingis handis, he keiped nevir a word that he had spokin for repairing of his offences as he was commandit, following the counsallis of the earles of Ormond and Murray, who albeit, they durst not openlie, yitt they suborned him quyetlie to disobedience, and all vtheris flatterreris to

quhom dissentione was evir pleasant, for by it, they thought they had ane voluptuous lyfe, so that nothing was so odious to thame as peace.

The king hearing of this proudness, caused the earle of Orkney, chancellour for the tyme, pas in Galloway and Cliddisdale, and gather vp all the rentis in these pairtis to the kingis vse ; and to mak collectouris for that effect, attour, to give everie ane, ane command in these countries to resound the skaithes and injuries done befor be thame, and to eschew from offending of thair neighbouris in tymes cuming. Bot when the earle of Orkney passed to Galloway and Douglasdaill, to the effect forsaid, accompanied with ane small number of folkis, not onlie was he disobeyed in his chairge, bot also mocked and injured be the earle of Douglas freindis. The king being provoked this wayes to anger, caused ane herald summond all such men quhatsumevir, of hie or low degrie, that favoured any Douglas to vnderly the law, and to declair the disobeyaris, the kingis rebellis, whose tyrranie, he thought to repres with fyre and sword. So the king, accompanied with ane armie, past in Galloway ; att whose cuming, the theives and murthereris took sick fear, that the fled to

strong holdis and strenthis for saftie of thair lyves, bot the king sent ane great part of his armie to pursue thame, who war repulsed verie contumeliouslie; at the quhilk, the king took so great anger, that he seised all the fortalices and castles in the countrey, amanges quhom, he wan the castles of Lochmabane and Douglas, and becaus the castle of Douglas was so difficile to wine, he caused cast doun the same to the ground. Bot Lochmaben was garnished with men of warre, and not castin doun, becaus it was so hastilie rendrit in his will. Yitt he delt thair landis, guidis, and geir, to thair creditouris and complaineris, till they war satisfied of all thingis taine from thame, quhair of the misdoeris war convict. The king, notwithstanding of this rebellione and disobedience, was not the more cruell in punisching thair of, nor he was at the beginning.

At last the earle Douglas being at Rome, it maid him to be affrayed: Thairfor took purpose with all diligence, to cum home in Scotland: but far from the magnificence that he passed a way with. For how soone word cam to thair eares, they pairted sundrie wayes: sum cam throw Flanderis, and sum throw France. The earle got saife conduct to cum

throw Ingland. Bot quhen he was marching near the Scottis border, he sent his brother, Mr James, befoir him to the kingis majestie, to know the kingis mynd towards him. The king sieing this young man so obedient, treating his brotheris peace, he receaved him verie humblie, saying, he desired no more of the earle of Douglas in tyme cuming, bot that he wold punisch murderis and theivis in those pairtis quhair he bure auctoritie and rule, and namlie, in Annerdaill. The earle Douglas, efter this, cam home himselff, and was receaved right heartilie be the king, and remitted of all byganes, quhairfor, he promised thankfullie to rule all thingis within his boundes at the kingis command: and then he receaved all his strenthis and fortelices out of the handis of the kingis men of warre: and thereafter holdin in so great estimatioun, and favoured with the king, that he was maid lievetennent-generall over all the realme. Bot he stood not long in this credit: for fragile fortoun changes the conceitis of men in sick maner, that they stand schort whyll at ane purpose. So schort whyll efter, he past to speak with the king of Ingland, without knowledge of the king of Scotland, his awin prince, to be repaired, as he alleged, of sun-

drie dangeris sustained be frequent incursions of the Inglischmen a befoir. Bot the king of Scotland was highlie commoved with his passage in Ingland, not onlie injayred be himselff, lightlied be the earle Douglas, bot also he thought sum quyet draucht to be drawin betuixt him and the king of Ingland, to hes dishonour and offence. The quhilk, when the earle vnderstood that the king knew of his quyet doeingis, he tuik purpose and cam right humblie to the king, seikand pardon for his faultis, promiseand solemnedlie, névir to commit sick ane offence in tymcuming : for quhom the Queine and nobles maid great request to forgive him. The king being moved throw thair request, took him againe in favouris, but deprieved him of all offices, and dischaired him of ony administratioun thair of : and thairfor, placed the earle of Orkney and Sir William Crichtoun in these offices, quho war at that tyme true, faithful, and obedient subjectis. The earle of Douglas was so offendit at this, that he hated the kingis counsallouris as his deadlie enemies, and speciallie Sir William Crichtoun, for old fead that was betwixt thame. Attour sum flatterand courtiour said to the earle Douglas, that Sir William Crichtoun said among his freindis opinlie, that the

king did not his dewtie lyk ane true and faithfull prince ; not onlie that he thoalled the earle Douglas to escap with his lyfe vnpunished, bot also reconccilled sick ane man so oft to his favour againe, quho had deserved ane thousand deadis for his wicked tyrannie. And said morover, that it had beine guid for the commounweill that the earle Douglas, his kine, and freindis, had beine rooted out ; and thair memorie cleane stamped away : vtherways, if this be not done, so long as he or any of thame lives, he was assured that the king sould never rigne long in peace and rest aboue his realme, nor yitt the subjectis obey to his articles.as becumis.

The earle Douglas hearing this, gave soone credit to sick vicked fals report of ane idle lowne, that delyted to put dissentioun betwixt noblmen : bot yitt he suppressed his irfull mynd, and took counsall with his freindis, how he sould distroy Sir Williame Crichtoun : for if he was cut off and slaine, he thought it but ane verrie small difficultie to wine the kingis favour with all offices he had a befoir ; sua be vaine wordis of wicked unhappie flatterie, thair kindled ane fire quhilk was not able to be slokened in, thair dayes. At the last, the earle of Douglas being advertaised he sum

spyes that Sir Williame Crichtoun had sett ane day to pas to Edinburgh, thought to put that vnhappy purpose to executioun: and to that effect, he ordained sum bloodie tyrantis to ly in waitt in sum quyet place near hand to his gaitt, for his slauchter. Vpoun the morne, Sir William Crichtoun, knowing nothing of this waching for his distruction, chanced near by to that same place, quhair the boucheris lay, quho brak about him with sick ane reird and clamour, that he was vtterlie afrayed and abased. But being adverteised be his sone, ane young valiant man, and sum otheris his freindis, to remember vpoun his old yonted courage, and not to fear, sieing it was force either to fight or flie, and the proverb is, fortoun helpis the hardie, but no remeid can be found for feiblness; he defendit so manfullie, till ane of the brigantis was slaine, and ane vther deadlie woundit: and at the last, sieing he might not mak his pairt guid, he took the flight with his folkis towardis the castle of Creichtoun for saftie of thair lyves, and sua escaped the perrill. Bot it was not long vnrecompenced, for he gathered ane great companie of his kine and assisteris, and cam forwardis to Edinburgh, to be revenged vpoun the earle Douglas, quho was remaining thair

with ane small number, bot ony suspitioun of Sir Williame Crichtoun his gathering: and thairfor, it was force to him to flie, and leive the toun to saiff himself, or elis bot doubt he had beine in perrill of his lyff, and all they that war with him in companie.

The mutuall injuries and desphightfull conceitis moved on both sydis, exasperat both the pairties, that the ane of thame appeared to bring the other to vtter distruction and ruin. Throw this dissentioun the realme was divydit into tuo pairtes and factiones. Bot the earle Douglas being verie heavilie comoved that he sould so schamfullie be put out of the toun of Edinburgh, be the deceitfull gathering of his enemies, fearing that the king was not forgetfull of so manie offences done be him a befoir, and thairfoir wold be more favorable to Sir Williame Crichtoun than to him, he thought to bind a league with sick nobles as wold be pairtie; yea, far aboue, if it cam to the worst, both to his vnfrendis and the king himselfe, if he wold declare himself in the contrair, and thairfoir sent quyet messages to his freindis, and speciallie to the earles of Crawfoord, Ross, and Murray, to insist and debait againes his incursiones and dangeris, that appeared to fall vpoun presentlie. The

quhilkis being gladlie granted, for all thir men, as ane, hated Sir Williame Crichtoun, with the rest of the courtiouris that war in credit with the king. Bot ony hope of reconcilioun thair was maid ane confederacie betuixt thir earles and thair freindis, be supperscriptiones and soleme oathis, that quhatsumevir vrong was done to thame, or ony of thame, or thair kine and freindis, sould be ane lyk quarrell to thame all, contrair quhatsumevir man within or without the realme, and to spend thair lyves, landis, and geir, for the observing of this covenant. The earle Douglas being so proud and insolent, that they boasted in all pairtes quhairvir they cam to haue the rulling and guyding of the realme, againes all menis willis, and to have thair enemies vterlie exterminat. Bot this ambitioun and vaine vaunting was the caus that the king of new againe began to hat the hous of Douglas; and also sum limmeris in Douglasdaill that had hirreied all the lands perteaning to Johne Herreise, a faithfull subject to the kingis majestie at all tymes. Quhairof, quhen this Johne Herreise hard of, complained, and sought redrese at the earle of Douglas handis, and nevir could gett remeid, he tuik purpose to revenge the vrong, becaus he gott no jus-

tice. Bot this attempt succedit verie vnhap-
pilie, for, in the hight of Annerdaill he was
takin, with his complices, and brought to the
earle Douglas, quhair he was castin in the
yrones, and thairefter schamfullie hanged, as
he had beine ane theife, notwithstanding the
kingis commandement in the contrair, and vther
messingeris sent for that effect. The king
took verie heavilie with this contempt, bot
superceidit it for the tyme ; attour, the people
was so burdenit with importable chairges, that
thair was no lyffe for thame, and yitt, notwith-
standing, they durst not complaine, nor tell
thair awin miserie in thir troublous tymes,
for mischeife begane daylie more and more to
increase. Vther noblmen that war full of
substance had no will of discord, bot abhorred
thir civill warres ryssing amongis thamselffis,
and lamented quyetlie the dangerous calami-
ties quhilk lay not in thair power to quench
nor stay *.

* Here the sense is evidently complete, and the narrative
connected ; but, in the most modern of the manuscripts con-
sulted, there is inserted the following passage, which is also
adopted in printed copies of the work.

Att this meane tyme the earle of Douglas cast himselſe
to be stark agaiſt the king, and therfor ſought and per-
ſwaded all men under his opinion and ſervitude, and in ſpe-

This mischeife increased so daylie, that all men took suspitione that the earles of Douglas, Crawford, and Ross, with thair assistance,

ciall, the gentlemen of Galloway, with Coile, Carrick, and Cuninghame, and all other pairtes that were neir adjacent unto him; desyreing them daylie to ride and goe with him as his own houshold men and servantis, and to assist him in all thingis whatsomevir he had to doe, whither it was ryght or wrong, with the king or against him. Bot some other wyse men, seing the danger appearand of the earle of Douglas proceedingis, contrair to the king and his authoritie; therfor would not assist him, nor take part with him, nor ride, nor gang with him, nor be his man. Among the rest of thir was one called Maclelan, who was tutour of Bombie for the time, and sister sone to Sir Patrick Gray, who was maister of Gray, and principal servitour to the king, and captane of his guard. This Maclelan, for love he bure to the king's grace, and to the ministrations of justice, would on no wayes ride with the earle of Douglas contrair the king and his authoritie, nor yit within his boundis, doing no man wrong. The earle of Douglas seing this, that this man would not serve him as he desired, came haistilie unto his house with ane great number of men, and seidges it, and took him out of the samine, and had him to the Castle of Douglas, and cast him there in strait prison. His friendis sieing this, passed to the court to Sir Patrick Gray, to shew him the maner hercof, how it stood with his sister's sone. The which, when Sir Patrick Gray heard the novellis, was heavilie displeased at the matter, and passed haistilie to the king, and shew him the maner how it stood with his sister's sonne, desyring the king's grace affectuouslie,

quhilk was the greatest pairt of the realme, should hastilie depose the king of his authoritie, quhilk suspitioun being schowin to the

that he might have his supplication to the earle of Douglas for to delyver him his sisters sonne, which the earle of Douglas had in captivitie and prisone for the time. The king granted verie thankfullie the samine, and caused write ane sweit letter of supplication to the earle of Douglas, for to deliver the tutour of Bombie to Sir Patrick Gray, his eame. This writing being subscribed and signated with the king's signet, ther after delyvered to Sir Patrick Gray to use the same as he thought cause, who passed haistilie with the said writing and supplication of the king's to the earle of Douglas, who was then in the Castle of Douglas for the time, sitting at his dinner; and hearing told that Sir Patrick Gray, the king's familiar servant was lighted at the gate, the earle mervelled much att the matter, what that should meane, and caused incontinent draw the boards, and rose and met the said Sir Patrick with great reverence and humilitie, because he was king's principall captane and secret servant, and familiar to his grace: Whairfor the earle receaved [him] with more thanks. But all was under collour and deceat, for the earle had no favour to the king, nor to none of his familiars. Yit he inquired att the said Patrick if he had dined, who answered he had not. Then the earle said, ther was "no talk to be had betwixt ane full and ane fasting, therefore yee shall dine, and we shall talke together at length."

In this mean tyme Sir Patrick Gray set down to his dinner, and the earle treatted him, and made him good cheare, wherof Sir Patrick Gray was well contented, beleeving all things to succed well therafter. But the earle of Douglas,

king, he took great fear thair of; for he knew weill thair factioun was als potent, if they war not mair potent nor his awin, for he maid him

on the other pairt, tooke ane suspitioun and conjecture what Sir Patrick Grayes commission was, and, dreading the desyne thereof should be for his friend, the tutor of Bombie, therfore, in the meane time, when they were at the dinner, talking of mirrie matters, the earle caused quietlie take forth the tutor of Bombie out of prison and have him to the greene, and there strooke of his head, and tooke the samine away from him, and syne covered a fair cloth on his bodie, that nothing might be sein of that treasonable act that was done.

In this meane time, when dinner was done, Sir Patrick Gray presented the kings writing unto the earle, who reverentlie receaved it, and considered the effect thereof. He gave great thanks to Sir Patrick Gray, saying, he was beholden to him that brought so familiar ane writting fra his prince to him, considering how it stood betwixt thame at that tyme; and, as to the desire and supplicatione, it should be thankfullie granted to the king, and the rather for Sir Patrick's saike, and took him by the hand and led him furth to the greine, where the gentleman was lying dead, and shew him the maner, and said, "Sir Patrick you are come a litle to late; bot yonder is your sister's sone lying, but he wants the head; take his body and doe with it what yee will!" Sir Patrick answered againe, with ane sore heart, and said, "My lord, if ye have taken from him his head, dispoone upon the bodie as ye please;" and with that called for his horse and leapt theron. And when he was on horsback, he said to the earle on this manner, "My

to misknow all thair proceidingis, and sent for the earle Douglas, and called for him verrie humblie to cum to Stirling, and speak with with, and thairefter called him to the supper and banquetted him verie royallie, thinkand if it was possible with good deadis to withdraw him from his attempt that he purposed to doe.

lord, and I live ye shall be rewarded for your labours that ye have vsed at this tyme, according to your demerits." At this saying the earle was highlie offended, and cryed for horse. Sir Patrick seing the earles furie spurred his horse; but he was chased neir to Edinburgh or they left him, and had not bein his leid horse was soe tryed and good he had bein taken.

But when this news cam to the king, he was heavilie discontented therwith, both at the slaughter, and syne of the chassing of his servant. To that effect the king called his secreit counsell to advyse hereupon what was best to be done for to daunton this wicked man, that could noe wayes be staunched from reaffe oppression and slaughter, both of great men and small. The counsell advysed, and concluded that it was best to flatter him, and to bring him in to the counsell be fair heights and promises; and, in the meane tyme to punish him according to his demerit. So the king made him to forget all faults and enormities done be the earle of Douglas in tymes by past, desyring nothing of him but that he would be a good man in tymes coming, and for that cause desired him effectuouslie to come to the counsell, making him sure with all promises, that he should be saillie pardoned. Some sayes, he got the great scale thereunto, or he would grant to come to the king.

At last, efter super, the kinge called the earle Douglas to ane secreit chamber, and put all his men a syd except sick as war vpoun the secreit counsall, and his awin guard : and then said to him verrie meiklie and gentlie, as it had beine bot ane sober offence, incaice of his prydfull mynd that he sould gainstand the kingis exhortatioun and request. " It is givin me to vnderstand my lord," said he, " that thair is sum confederatioun betwixt yow and sum of the nobles of the realme. I pray yow thairfoir break sick leagues and secrecie, that is not vouted to be vnder ane prince by his authoritie and command, and that yea wold be so guid to remove all occasioun as may caus the subjectis of the realme tak suspitione of your evill myndis towardis me. As for my selff I know no evill, nor beleives nane of yow. Yitt it war vnseimand to doe any such thingis as is not consonant to the lawes of this realme and pleasour of the kingis leiges. For doubtles it cannot be without scandall of the people, not yitt without the princes hatred to committ sick thingis, as sall caus the people keip evill ordour, throw evill example, by the quhilk the realme sould be abused be everie man, evin as they war a people without law or justice,"

This being said, and manie vther pleasant wordis, quhilkis war impossible to repeat, the earle Douglas, nothing moved with the kingis humanitie, answered verrie prouddie saying, that he could not break that band that was once maid, nor yitt would he discharge the samyn for no manes sayinges; and that for the great offences the king had done to him, reproachand the king verrie arrogantlie, that he had reproved him of all his offences. Yitt notwithstanding of his proud answeir; the king exhorted him to doe nothing that was degenerat from the nobilitie of his forbearis, for that was verrie vicked that he had begune; and was sufficient caus to tak his lyff, landis, and guidis; deserving forfaltrie, and his name to be abolisched and extinguished for evir. At the last, the king sieing that he could not spead with fairnes, and also dred that throw so proud answeires, warres sould have followed thairvpoun, as was humored befor, vnles hastie remeid war fund, and so he tuik ane great anger, and thought to doe the thing that was lese skaith to the commonweill, nor to trouble the haill realme thairwith, and so he pulled out ane sword, and said, I sie weill my prayer can doe nothing to caus yow desist from your wicked counsellouris, and immediatlie thair-

after he strak him throw the bodie thairwith; and thairefter the guard, hearing the tumult within the chamber, rusched in and slew the earle out of hand. This slauchter was maid in the yeir of God 1452 yeires, vpoun the twentie day of Februar.

Thair was in the toun of Stirling, at this tyme, manie of the earle Douglas freindis, with his brother James, Earl of Ormond, earle of Murray, and the lord Balvenie, knyght Cad-dach, and the lord Hamiltoun, ane man of grit estimatioun amonges the nobles, with many other great gentlmen, verrie potent both in riches and freindis. Thir men how soone word cam to them that the earle was slaine; and word cam to them within the toun, they remained all that night, and vpoun the morne they put James Douglas in his brotheris place, as was ordained be the earle a befoir, quha maid ane lang harring and exhortatioun to his freindis to seidge the castle and revenge the vnworthie slauchter of his brother with the kingis lyffe. Bot they kest sundrie thingis in thair myndis, quhilkis war not possible for thame to doe, sieing they had no invasioun for this effect; to seidge the castle, being so stronge. Yitt they gave the king verrie uncouth wordis, saying, they sould nevir

obey him, nor acknowledge him againe as ane prince, bot sould be revenged on his cruell tyrannie or evir they ceased. Efter this, they hirried and brunt the toun of Stirling, and sicklyk all other landis belonging either to the king or thame that wold not profese thair factione, they waisted with fyre and sword: and amongst the rest, the haill landis of Dalkeith wer brunt and destroyed; and the castle thair-of belted about with a strong seidge, and maid thair solemne oathis nevir to depairt thairfra, vntill the tyme it war maid equall with the ground, for James hatted and invyed John Lord Dalkeith, his freind and kinsman, aboue all other tratour, and that notwithstanding he being his freind and kinsman, refusied to assist him in his attempis and interprysis. The seidge lasted longer nor the seidgers beleived, for the men within defendit so valiantlie, quhill thair enemies, irked besong waiking, hungar and vther thingis, and also throw great slauchter of mainie of their folkis, and mainie of thame so evill voundit, that they war constrained to leive thair purpose, and sua dissolved the seidge.

The king being highlie offendit at thir arrogant attempis, gathered ane armie to punisch thir conspiratouris, for thair temerarious interpryse. But when he saw he might not

have the vpper hand vpoun thame, but doubt he could not mak his pairt guid againes so great ane armie, he left his intention till ane better tyme. In the meane tyme, when he was looking for the cuming of Alexander earle of Huntlie, whom he had chairged be ane herald, and als requested him verrie effectuouslie to cum for his defence; and the said Alexander verrie obedient vnto his prince's command, was cuming fordward with ane great armie, for the kingis support, his gaitt was vnbesett be Alexander earle of Crawford, who was alreadie declared the kingis enemie and rebel, for les majestie, becaus he had contemned the kingis authoritie, being summondit be ane herald to vnderly the law. The earle of Crawford assemblit his hail folkis of Angus, with ane great companie of his kine and freinds, and thairefter when the earle of Huntlie was marching towardis Angus, the earle of Crawford camped his folkis besydis the toun of Brechine. When both the armies war cume and in otheris sight, they rusched forwardis in arrayed battell vpoun otheris. It was long foughtin and cruellie, and with vncertaine victorie, quhill ane companie of fresch men cam to renew the battell, taking thair advantage of the brae syd; whae cam, so feirchie vpoun the earle of Huntlie's vangaird, quhill

they war compelled to settle a little a back : The quhilk when the Angus men perceaved they war put a back, and having so great advantage, they cam the more fercbie vpoun thame nor they did befoir, and namlie vpoun the place that was farthest chairgit ; quhill att the last John Collict of Bannamoone being sumquhat offendit at the earle of Crawford the day befoir, becaus he would not enter his sone in his land, the said earle being superior thairof, quhairat the said laird took sick disphight that he left the earle of Crawford, and past out at ane syd ; whom ane great pairt of the ablest of the armie followed. This laird of Balnamoone was captane of the aixmen, in whois handis the haill hope of victorie stood that day. But the earle of Crawford sieing him destitute of thame, in quhom he lipped most, was compelled to flie for saftie of his lyffe, and albeit the victorie inclyned to the earle Huntlie, yitt he gat not the same without great slauchter of his folkis. Tuo of his brether war slaine, with sundrie vtheris gentlmen and commones. Thair war slaine vpoun the earle of Crawfordis syd, Sir John Lindsay his brother, with manie vther gentlmen, quhairof had beine great pittie, if thair had beine ane better quarrel. So the earle of Crawford being vanquished in this manner, it is said that ane

gentlman followed him so ferclic, that he drew him in the midis of the preas of the folkis that war gathered about thair maister to be his saif gaird in the middle of the flight; and so was compelled to pas with thame as he had beine ane man of thair awin, to the place of Phenevin, quhair he heard the earle say, that he wisched himselff to be sewin yeires in hell, for the honorabill victorie that had befallen to the earle of Huntlie that day; considdering the great favour that he had conquiest of his prince for his releiffe and repressing of his rebellis. Vpoun the morne, after all the dead bodies war buried, according to their estates, and albeit the earle of Crawford was overcum, as said is, yitt he remained in Angus, as he did befor, and persued all thame that war not of his factione, with great crueltie, waistand thair landis with fyre and sword, and namlie thame that fled from him in the battell, in casting doun thair houssis to the grund. This battell was strukin vpoun the ascentioun day, in the yeir of God 1453 yeiris.

In the mean tyme, quhill the earle of Huntlie was occupeyed in this maner for the libertie of the countrie, the earle of Murray entred and brunt the landis of Strathbogie, with the haill cornes thair of, and all vther landis perteaning to the earle of Huntlie, quhilk was

not long vnrequyeted : for how soone he was victorious over the commoun enemies of the realme, he invadit the landis of Murray with greater slauchter and crueltie nor was done in his boundis : Att whose cuming, the earle of Murray, with his freindis and clyentis, tuik sick fear, be reasoun of the recent victorie, that it behoved him to flie aff the countrie for the saftie of his lyffe. It is said, that the earle of Huntlie cam to the toun of Forres, and brunt the on syd of the toun that apperteaned to the earle of Murray's kine and freindis, bot spair-ed the other syd, be reasoun the greatest pairt thairof perteaned to his awin favoureris and weillwilleris.

Schort quhill efter, the king caused sett ane parliament be the counsall of bischope James Kennedie of St Andros, quhair the decreet of forfaltrie, quhilk was led againes the earle of Crawford a befoir, was ratified and approved againe : his guidis and gear confiscatt, his landis delt, himselff delait tratour for his rebel-lioun, and his name abolisched and blotted out of the buik of armes for evir. And als James, earle of Douglas, the earles of Murray and Ros, James, lord Hamiltoun, and Johne, lord Balvenie, and vtheris divers landit gentlemen, were summondit to the parliament to a certaine day, to vnderly the law for certain crymes, that the

king had to lay to thair charges. Bot this was in waine, for none of thaime thought to mak obedience or compeirance. And als vpoun the night efter they war summondit, sum exploratouris war sent to the toune of Edinburgh to spy the faschione of all thair proceedingis; quho, at thair maisteris commandis, affixt paperis vpoun the kirk doores, sealled with the earle's awin hand and signet, bearing thir wordis in effect: the earle Douglas wold not obey command, nor chairge in tym-cuming be reasoun the king was but ane bloodie murtherar of his awin blood, and breaker of the law of hospitalitie: ane fals yngodlie thrister of innocent blood, without just quarrell or occasioun: with many vther contumelious sayingis, vnworthie to rehearse. At the quhilk, the king tuik so high disdaine, that he gathered ane companie of armed men to invaid this tyrrant: And sieing it was about the dead time of the yeir, he could doe nothing for repairing of the same, except he brunt the cornes and hirried the countrie, and slew sundrie spyes: he returned home againe, and deferred his purpose quhill the spring tyme of the yeir. Bot the earle, with his assisteris, tuik little heed of thair hirschipis, slauchter, or warre, bot was als insolent as if

they had nevir beine afflicted with sick misfortoun: and, moreover, that the landis and rentis perteaning to his vmquhill brother, sould not cum vnder the handling of frained men, he sent to the Pope for a dispensatioun to marrie his brotheris wayff, to whom a great pairt of the landis fell throw the deceas of hir husband, besydis the landis quhilkis perteaned to hir in heritage, quhilk he could be no manner of way obtaine. And, thairfor, without law, or ony respect of God, or guid conscience, he tuik and married his brotheris wayff to the effect forsaidd.

In the spring of this yeir, thairefter, thir intestine warres within the boundis of the commounweill, begane to increase more and more, and sua continewed twa yeires togidder, during the quhilk tyme, the Douglass brunt all the landis, and hirried thame perteaning to the king and his assisteris, and als to thame that war not plaine of his factione. Vpoun the vther syd, the king and his assisteris, verrie loath to vse sick crueltie for thair recompence, bot rather to break thair proud enemies arrogancie, waisted and hirried Annerdaill, Edrick forrest, and all vther landis perteaning to the ither factioun. Att the last, the earle of Douglas speciall freindis, sua

many as war left alyve during the saidis cruell warres, being wext and irked so long be frequent hirschipis, and surfett roadis, draving to extreame powertie, gave counsall to thair cheife to leive and desist from his seditious disobedience, and humblie to desir pardon of the kingis majestie, and render himself but fraud or guyle in his will and gentrice: quho of his kinglie honour appearandlie, could not deny the same vnto him: for, if a king will denud himself of all clemencie and pittie, then it is ane signe and token of his fearfull dred and terrour to everie man. Attour, they gave the earle to vnderstand, that the king being so wext as he appeared to thame, throw longsum and tedious travell tane of the appeasing of the commounweill, wold be als glad to ressave him in his favouris, as he wold be to offer himself thairto; And sua not onlie sould he be reconceilled to his prince, bot als might conquies the freindschip of many othe- ris as principall aider of all mischeife rigne- and within the realme. Quhen his freindis had said this, he maid answer, that he wold nevir put his lyff in that manes will and danger that had first pat doun tuo in the castle of Edinburgh, that war brother bairnes with him, and als Williame, earle of Douglas, his awin

brother; off quhom the lyk range never within this realme: "and was not all thir men," sayes he, "called verrie noble, both be himselff and his present counsallouris to righteous actiounnes; to the effect thairby, the law of nature and hospitalitie, they sould be evin as it war dead, destroyed and slaine vnder the culour of intertainment; how meikle more fearfull is it to me to put myselff in this danger. So he thought thair was but one of tuo to be chosine, either extreame chance of battell, quhairby ane might have the vpperhand, or els if they left the feildis and gave over the interpryse, they sould be murthered, slaine, or banished, aither with intollerable chaiges that might fall to his hie derisioun, skaith, and schame to his kine and freindis. Schortlie, he thought thair was no other midway that might delyver him of that present danger." For the quhilk sayings, many begane to leive his mightie courage in sick adversitie: vtheris not onlie disallowed his obstinat mynd in sick vickednes, but also reproached the allow-eris and fortifieris of him in sick perversed persevirance, thinkand, and weill it was true indeed, that all they that had fed him with sick flatterie and disobedience, both towardis God and the king, wold not continew vnto the hap-

pie end of this matter, as they had promised, to the destructione of the commonweill, and destroying of the prince; for they knew that his prydfulnes could not laik ane mischeivous end, as might be sufficientlie vnderstood be the example of sick lyk men in all tymes by-gane, both in Scottis and vther forrane histories.

Then how soone the earle of Crawford vnderstood the earle Douglas obstinat and wilfull disobedience, for quhois quarrell he had fallen in sick mischeife, he dispyted his compaine, and tuik purpose to humble himself, and cum in ane base apperrel to the king to ask pardone. He thought if he wold perseveir in his wicked society and band, that not onlie should he, his kine and friendis, with thair posteritie, be delaited, and put from all memorie, bot also the noble actis and deadis of his forbearis, quhilk thair guid service had conquiest, baith the landis that he possesest presentlie, and als the kingis favouris, with great laud and commendatioun of all men, should be obscured and forgott for evir. Sua when the king was cuming to the Northland, cuming throw Angus, the earle of Crawford cam bairheaded and bairfuttet to the king, cled as he had beine ane miserable cative, guyltie of ane

cryme, committed in judgment, dollorous, and in poore arrayment, to mak the judges have commiseratioun and pitie. And so accompanied with ane small number of folkis, sad with drearie countenance, kest thame in the kingis gaitt. But fra hand he cam befor the kingis grace with teares burstand furth aboundantlie, and fell on his knees; quhilk being schowin to the king quhat man it was, and quhat they war that was in his companie, and that the earle confidit much in the kingis clemencie, quhairin he had placed his whole hope of restitution: then, moved bot any fear or dreadour, pat himself in the kingis will and mercie: the king bad raise him vp to sie quhairfoir he came, all fear and dreadour sett asyd. Than it was said that the earle's courage being sumquhat recovered againe, dried the teares from his eyis, and said to the king in maner following. "If transgressouris of the lawis and statutis of this realme hoped for na other thing at kingis handis, and princeis haveing the ruell and gouvernement of otheris, bot that which the law decerned; most mightie prince, I sie no place left to me this day for remission of my cryme: yitt, notwithstanding the samyne, reasone itself perswadis me with guid hope to cum into thy clemencie, to impetrat

pardone for my offences, as it war to sum sicker anchor; in whois handis lyes both the power of lyffe and death. For I believe clemencie to be, the principall of all royal dewties, and yee to have conquiest the same, as it becumes ane king above all vertewes. For if my seveir sleuth wold labour to put away argument, of the same reasone it wold appear to mak away all occasiune of amendement from thame that fallis sumtyme from reasone, and sua should all kingis vertewis be obscured and closed up, and ane broad entres opined to all kynd of defectione and iniquitie. I grant, indead, that man sould of his dewtie not declyne from ryght or reasoune. Bot ane thing I requyre, quhat is he that is in greatest estimatioun of the commoun people in all civill and publick affaires, that may avow that he hes nevir fallin againes the lawis, aither for the caus of hatred, favour, dreadour, or invy? I believe, forsooth, that no man can say, it is bot caiceable to ane man to fall in ane offence, bot to amend and recognise, and condemne his fault himselff, it is ane great gift and benifiet of God: For, it becumes ane that hes fallin in error, to the quhilk every mortall man is subject, to becum penitent, and amend his lyffe, with firme purpose to es-

chew the lyk intymes cuming. Quhairfoir, most clement prince, I am ane wearie man cum vnto your majestie this day, granting that I have faulted, and my conscience bearing witnes condemnis my awin doeing, in so far that I confes I am not worthie to live, vnles I be willing on the ane pairt myself, to correct the former faschione of my lyfe, and on the other pairt, the great pitie of the noble hous of Lindsayes to fall into distructione: bot if yea help it in tyme, quhilk should move yow to restore me for my forbearis caus, even as it war from death to lyff againe, for thy clemencie quhilk no man hes beine repulsat fra, at any tyme, that was moved with guid, without fraud or guyle, to humble thamselffis thairto, hes givin me ane hardiement, to ask pardone for my offences. I pray the thairfoir, that I may obtaine this my request, and that for my forbearis, thair treuth and constancie, cair and travell, tain be thame for the defence of the realme, and becaus the beginning of our hous, progres and geneologie of the same, will appear to further me in this caise, I sall declar the same brieflie to the first man of the surname, quhilk was called Lindsay, ane proper name than to him, quhilk now is the surname of our

clane. Kenneth, the second son to Alpine, rewarded with large boundis, and landis in this countray, for his guid counsall and souerane manhood in the overthrowing of the Pyghtis, ane long tyme thairefter this, Alexander succedit lineallie to him, quho was slaine at the bridge of Stirling, fighting richt manfullie againes the Inglischmen, our old enemies, for king Robert the First his quarrell, vpoun quhose factiōne and partie he schew him selff that tyme, and all other tymes richt manfullie. This Alexander begot Alexander quho was slaine at the battell of Dumblane, for the defence and preservation of the young king, David the Second, from the tyrranie of his enemies. Schort quhill efter this battell, David Lindsay succedit baith to his fatheris landis and etc.; for he was slaine at Hallidonhill, when the Scottis men war fighting againes the Inglischmen, for the libertie of our native countrie: whose nevy, sone to John, his brother, called James, faucht vpoun the bridge of London ane singular combat with the Lord Waillis, ane strong campione, and of great estimatioun with the king of England at that tyme, and vanquished him, notwithstanding of his strenth and might, to no lese schame and marvell of his adversaries then gritt

laud and prais of this our native countrie. Then King Robert the Second rewarded him with the landis and castle of Crawford, quhom throw our earledome, is so moved for his singular behaviour towa:dis the commounweill, be his counsall and convoy in all thingis per-teaning to the weillfare of the realme, the tyme of Robert the Second, and was rulled with greater craft and wisdome nor in any aiges a befor: for this James begatt David, quho was my father, quho deserved great laud and praise, for the diligent inquisitione maid be him for the searching of the tratouris that pat doun thy father, of worthie memorie, and tuik so great travell in the punishing thair of, that he desistit nevir till everie ane of thame war condignlie punished for thair schamfull treason. Sua no man doubtis, bot thy excellencie knowis perfytly, be our Scottis histories, the wisdom, constancie, strenth, and singular manhood, with the singular knowledge of wordlie affaires of my predicessoures, how everie ane hes lost thair lyves for the libertie and weillfare of this realme. But fy on me, most miserable and vnworthie tratour, that is so forgetfull of all thir men; quhat mischeife was in my mynd when I adjoyned me in armour with the tratouris that conspyred a-

gainest thy majestie, and, by my cruell doeingis, compelled all Angus, with many otheris, to invaid thame that war cuming for thy defence, for the support of the fals conjured traitouris ! O wilfull and fooll hardie interpryse, subtill and temerarious purpose ! O high furie and woodnes ; O miserable chance to be lamented ! not onlie have I broucht myselve in this miserie, bot also hes broucht the hail noblemen and gentlemen of Angus to extreme danger, both of thair lyves and tinsell of houssis. Quhat sall I say or doe ? quhair sall I goe or be ? quhat moyane sall red me of this mischeife ? All law positive denyes that I should live. Bot to ryve the lyff out of my bodie, the actis and statutis of this realme requyres that I should thoall ane schamfull dead. It is of trueth thair is no remead for me nor non of my adheerentis, who casuallie hes fallin as men : I will not say fallin from thair dew obedience for fear of me, vnles thy royall majestie, who hes the power of lyff and death, mot have pitie and commisseratioun on ws, and grant ws grace and pardon, quhilk the lawis and actis of parliament denyes vnto ws alluterlie. Yitt your grace may doe better, sieng that kingis and princes may dispence with lawis and statutis. Attour, it is

ane lamentable caice to sie the noble and ancient hous of Lindsayes, conquiest with great wisdome and manhood and travellis, to perisch onlie for the offence of onlie on man. I pray the thairfoir, most mercifull prince, that I be not debarred from thy favouris, or exyled thairfra, or yitt denyed of thy humanitie, quhilk hes beine schowin larglie to divers vtheris a befoir. For, if it be ane great excellence to vanquisch thy enemye, yitt no lese prais with guid adwysement to have pitie on him; becaus it is vnderstood be ane suir puissance, when he moderatis his awin strenth and power, and knowis how to overcum his awin effectis of ony victorie. I regaird not my awin persoun any maner of way, thairfoir it is content to us to vnderly ony punischment yow pleas, aither to be hanged, to be rivin with wyld beastis, to be drowned, castin over ane craige. It is nather the fearfull induring of my dearest spous, nor the greitting of my bairnes, nor the lamentable sobbing of my freindis, nor hirschip of my landis, that moves me so meikle as the decay and falling of our hous, and lamentable change of fortoun of the noblmen of Angus, with the rest of my adheerentis, whose lyves, landis, and guidis, standis in danger for my caus and surname of Lindsayes. Have

compassioun on the noblemen that concordit to my factioun, that they, at the least, be not spoilzied of thair lyves and heritages for my offence."

Quhen the earle had endit, the noble and gentlemen of Angus, that cam with the earle to seik remissioun, held vp thair handis to the king most dollourouslie, crying mercie, quhill thair sobbing and sighing cutted the wordis, that almost thair prayeris could not be vnderstood; throw the quhilk thair raise sick ane ruth and pittie amongst the companie, that nane almost could containe thaimselfis from teares. And so everie man begane to implore the kingis majestie for respit to the earle and his assisteris; bot principallie James Kennedie, bischop of Sanct Andros, and Sir Williame Crichtoun, be whose persuasioun the earle cam at the tyme to seik mercie, whom he compelled, contrair thair heartis, to maintaine his treasoun and conspiracie, praying the king, of his benignitie, to spair him, for the experience of his mischeife that had fallin thame throw his rebellione, it sould mak them mare humble and obedient to thair prince nor if thei had nevir fallen a befoir. Attour, so great ane manes repentance and obedience to his prince was not to be lighalied: have consi-

deratione to the circumstance of tyme and present danger that was in the realme; for, if sick ane thing be as fayth and trueth, no man gudlie can beleive or suspect any fraud or guyle.

Be thir menis wordis, lamentable gestur, countenance, and earnest prayeris of the earle Crawford and his assistouris, and be the requestis and prayeris of sick as war about him, [the king] commanded thame to be of guid confort, and to be of better mynd towardis the affaires of the commounweill nor they war a befoir, saying, that he nather desired the noblemens landis, lyves, guidis, nor geir; but rather to conqueis thair heartis and freindschipis: and that it was of truth, that he waxed irfull againes all conspiratouris, bot yitt wold setle his mynd so soone as they became penitent of thair offences. And also he vnderstood that it became an prince to be revenged vpoun rebellis and murthereris, of his majestie yit, notwithstanding, he would vse great moderance hearin, and deall with them als gentle as he could, without dangeris of vtheris, and evill example. Attour, he desired no greater revenge of them, nor to sie ane man of great spirit and courage, attemptand, schort quhyll since, so temerariousslie above his degrie, now

rendring himselff frie without any compulsione, so that he granted he had no other help or refuge of restitution, bot to render himselff in the kingis clemencie. And that he being denud of all honour, fear and drea'dour sett a syd, asked mercie and forgivnes of him on his knies, quhom he pursued most cruellie, adjoyned and sociat with the most cruell enemies of the realme.

How soone the king had said this and sicklyk wordis, schewing his mynd inclyned to mercie, he ressaived the earle and his assis-touris to his grace and favouris, absolved thame from les majestie, restored tham to thair former dignities and estates, quhilk was great joy and gladnes to all that beheld the same. But the earle gloried in his happie eventure, and conveyed the kingis majestie in the north, and with him ane chosin companie of young able gentlemen of Angus, and, in the month thair-efter, banquetted him in the Castle of Phenevin, and promised faithfullie to be readie with all his forces to fight against the conjured enemies of the realme; when and quhair it pleased the kingis majestie. The earle being in this wyse reconciliat and ressaived in the kingis favouris, gave over all kind of tyrranie, and became ane faithfull subject and sicker

targe to the king and his subjectis. Att the last, in this maner being reconciliat and sett at quyetnes and rest, his freindis, and all otheris, as appeared, being also in great tranquillitie, fortoun, that sufferis nothing to remain stable, but all thingis subject to ruine and decay, leining vpoun ane bruckle staffe, thoalled not the happie estat of this man long to continew, for, in the saxt moneth efter his restitution, he took the hot fevir, and died in the yeir of God 1454 yeires, and was buried with great triumph, in the Greyfrieres of Dundie, in his forbearis sepulchre.

In the same yeir the colledge of Glasgow was fundit. In the yeir preceeding, Mahomett, prince of the Turkis, sieged and wan the famous citie of Constantinople, and did great slauchter and crueltie vpoun the Christianes quhairevir he came, Nicolas the Fyft being pope of Rome, and maid the same, from thence furth, his principall dwelling place, and yitt possessis the same.

In the nixt yeir thairefter, quhilk was the fyftie-fyve yeir of God; thair was ane parliament sett at Edinburgh, quhair James earle of Douglas, Beatrix his brotheris wayff, pretendit spous to himself, George earle of Ormond, and the lord Balvenie, war altogidder

forfalt and condemned to the dead. Thair was ane convention thairefter, quhair the king called to remembrance how that the earledome of Murray was rest from James Crichtoun by the subtill craft of vmquhill William earle of Douglas, and given to Archibald his brother, and he restored the same againe to him. Bot when James Crichtoun perceaved that he could not juse the landis, bot with the hatred of monie gentlemen, he laboured fra hand to denud himself thairof, and pat it in the kingis handis, and his sone thairefter, called George Crichtoun, in recompence thairof, was maid earle of Cathnes. Attour, William Hay, then constable of Scotland, was the first belted earle of Erroll, and also in the same vther conventioun incorporat to the number of lordis and barronnes in Parliament, and sundrie vther knyghtis, as Darnelie, Haillis, Lyll, and Lorne.

Efter this counsall was dissolved, the king caused raise ane new armie to pas vpoun the commoun enemies of the realme; and first he invaidit Galloway, quhilk was rendrit but ony difficultie, with all the strenthis thairof. Thairefter he past in Douglasdail, quhair greater crueltie was vsed then in Galloway, and the haill men and guidis tain vp as ane just prey,

be the kingis men of warre, becaus the inhabitantes war stubborne, and maid thame to gainstand the kingis auctoritie*. Bot when the

* In the most modern of the MSS. already cited, these incidents are detailed at greater length.

“The xxv. chapter.— Bot when the earle of Douglas lands and men were overthrowne with such calamities, Sir James Hamiltoun, the earle of Douglas familiar servant, was sent to England for support against the king of Scotland, in defence of the earle of Douglas. But he obtained no men but money. The which being obtained, he persuaded the earle of Douglas to offer the king extreame battell. To that effect he caused take up bands and men of warre to the number of thrie hundreth horsmen, and thrie hundreth footmen, to be under the captanrie and government of James Hamiltoun, and also he caused seike all clients and familiars, and his tender kindred and friendis, with all them that favoured him in the realme of Scotland at that time, charging them to be readie at the appointed day, to come to him and debate him and his lands against the king when he came to persew him, and speciallie if he seiged Abercorne.

“When the king heard of this perswasione of the earle of Douglas, he was greatlie affeared, thinkand that he had wasted himselfe and his money, and had tyred all his subjects in the persute, hership, and dantoning of the earle of Douglas, the whilk he thought by that extremitie, that he had used toward the earle of Douglas, was occasion if the said earle might be partie to him be any way, that he might give him battell, either be tinsell or wining to put the whole realme in jeopardie; the which the king was verie loath to doe: and so the king was verie pensive in his mynd, what was best to be done in defence contrair the earle of Douglas, whom he

earle Douglas landis war overthrowne with sick calamities, James Lord Hamiltoun, the earle Douglas familiar freind, was sent in Ing-

knew to have so many favourers at that tyme, that it was impossible to be partie to the said earle, if he pleased to rise against him and give him battail. Yet the king devysed ane subtile and craftie meane against the said earle, that is to say, he caused the word gang to the earle of Douglas eares, that he was to passe out of the countrie, and that for fear of the earle of Douglas.

"Thir thingis coming to the earle of Douglas, he was verie rejoiced heereat; and was the slaker in the rising of his men and armie against him, thinking that he should obtaine his purpose, but any battell or ganestanding of the king. But in this meane tyme, the king caused the earle of Orkney, the earle of Angus, with others sundrie barrons and gentlemen, to the number of six thousand men, with provision, to be readie at ane certane day; as he advertised them to passe to the castle of Abercorne, and to seige it.

"In this meane time the earle Douglas, hearing that the king's armie was come to the castle of Abercorne, and was seiging it, he believed surelie that the king had been there himselfe. Therfor he sent and warned all his kinred, and friends, and alyants, and all that would doe for him in Scotland, chargeing them to meet him at Douglas, the tenth day heirafter, with twentie dayes victualls, to passe with him to the castell of Abbercorne, ther to rescue the samine, or els to give the king battell, and cause him either to fight or flie out of Scotland.

"The king hearing this, was stupied in his mind, thinking his armie was over litle at that time, to debate against the earle of Douglas, for it was showen to him he would be

land, to desir support againes the kingis majestie, quhilk, quhen it was refuissed, and seing no out gaitt, he perswaded the earle

fourtie thowsand men in armour against the king at that time. The king, seing no refuge, passed in ane shipe hastily to St Andrewes, ther to meet with bishop James Kennedy, and to have his counsell thairunto, showing to him that the earle of Douglas was gathering ane great armie either to fight with him, or to chase him out of the countrie: and alsoe he knew noe support to be had hostile at that time; therfor he desired his counsell, what he thought best to be done hereintill. This bishop was ane wyse and godlie man, and answered the king in this maner, as after follows, saying, "Sir, I beseech your Grace, that ye take a little meat to refresh you, and I will passe to my orature and pray to God for you, and the comonwealth of this realme and cuntrie. This being spoken, the king passed to his disjoine, and the bishop to his orature to mak his prayer to Almightie God, to open his mouth to give him knowledge and utterance to give that noble prince, who was destitute and comfortles of all good counsell, that he might give him instructione and learning how he should escape that great perrell and danger apparentlie to fall at that time. Then this bishop took the king's grace be the hand, and led him to his orature, beseiking him to mak his earnest prayers to the Almighty, that he would strengthen him with his holy spirit, that he might with ane bold courage resist his enemies, who were risen against him contrair the commandement of God, and comonwealth of the cuntrie, beseiking God of his mighty power and grace, that he would grant him victorie of thes conspirators and rebellers, who wer risen against him, but any cause made be him, and speciallie that he would grant him

Douglas to gather his haill forces, and to interpret his recoverie, in sett battell againes the king, and tak the extreme chance of for-

the upper hand of the earle of Douglas, and his complishes, likeas he had done before against him and his oppressors, when they oppressed the commonwealth of the cuntrie. This being done, the king passed in this manner to his devotion, as this holy bishop had commanded him. And after, when the king had ended his prayer to Almighty God, then this bishop, seing the king desolat of good counsell, and dispaired of good hope or success of any victorie to fall to him, contrair his enemies, caused him to passe into his studie, or secret house, where his bowes and arrowes lay, with other sundrie jewells of the said bishop's."

The remainder of the general narrative proceeds as afterwards given in the text, when describing the character of Bishop Kennedy, but somewhat more diffuse, and also with slight differences in the arrangement. Complete coincidence, indeed, is seldom seen in two manuscripts of unequal antiquity, and, as already observed, all that have occurred to the editor of this volume differ from each other.

It cannot but appear remarkable that a subject should thus be able, on a sudden emergency, to collect a military force, not only sufficient to overawe the sovereign, but exceeding all the troops which he could raise in his defence. Nothing can better prove the inefficient government of Scotland, and the rebellious sentiments of the powerful nobles; and, unless for the interposition of fortuitous circumstances on this occasion, possibly a struggle might have ensued, whether the family of Stewart or Douglas should wear the crown. The

toun, rather than ly in perpetual danger and continewall affliction as they did ; for if they gott the vpper hand, they sould have the realme

tumultuous overthrow of royalty is commonly followed by a competition under whom it shall be revived, and in those days the existence of any democratic faction, that is, popular influence, had not been conceived possible in Scotland.

If we are to credit most of our ancient historians, powerful armies could be brought into the field with little warning. But, with them, we cannot deny that thirty and forty thousand seem numbers always ready at command, and we can scarce avoid conceiving that their descriptions are frequently exaggerated. It is difficult to believe, that, in a country said to be so thinly peopled, where agriculture was in infancy, and traffic almost unknown, so great an army as seventy thousand fighting men could be collected on the emergency in question. If that regular progression which we are taught to admit has taken place in the population, we should be prone to conclude that there were hardly so many men in all Scotland fit to bear arms three hundred and fifty years ago, or, if such were actually the case, that it is far from probable four-sevenths of these could be levied by any subject, however potent by alliance or territory.

Yet it must also be considered, that the levies of old were carried to an infinitely greater extent than those of the present day, which cannot fail to influence our opinions ; neither had a commander to combat the same difficulties as are now experienced in subsisting an army.

at thair pleasour, with ane houris travell, and if they war overcum, himself, kine, and freindis, could be no wors nor they war alreadie ;

All men between sixteen and sixty were summoned to attend the sovereign, and each vassal was subject to the command of his immediate overlord, though the whole were bound in service to the king. But the individuals composing this levy were not merely obliged to give personal attendance ; it was necessary that they should come prepared with arms and armour, and a supply of provisions for a certain specified time. Numerous examples occur in the royal proclamations, by which this is diversified, according to the expected duration of the duty, and here we see the adherents of the earl of Douglas attend him with the like means of subsistence. So indispensable a precaution was the provision of the soldier, that an example will soon appear of the total failure of an expedition, where delay occasioned premature consumption of his supply. When exhausted it does not appear that any measures except plunder from the enemy were adopted for its renewal.

From these circumstances, it is evident, that a principal chance of success on the one part, rested in the promptitude of military movements, while, on the other, an enemy was to be enfeebled by protracting the contest. Accordingly, we observe, that so long as the immediate accomplishment of the intended purpose was kept in view, the energy of the troops was greater, and that it declined in proportion as that became more remote.

On considering the manner in which the Scottish levies were made, little doubt can remain that an army was composed

and his enemies should put ane haistie end to all thair caires and labouris, quhilkis had troubled thame so long. For not onlie was

of a tumultuous assemblage of men, for the most part unskilled in warfare; nor were their leaders adapted for much more than predatory incursions on an enemy. Personal prowess was nevertheless effectually substituted for a refined knowledge of military tactics; whence an inferior force was wont to defeat the plans of a more powerful adversary. In contests with the English troops in the field, the superior knowledge of the latter, rendered them in general successful, and in the prosecution of sieges, both parties relied on the skill of foreigners. The besieged seldom submitted without the most determined resistance; nor is this surprising, if we reflect that, by the barbarous usage of antiquity, the punishment of a garrison by a victorious enemy was cruel, in proportion to the vigour of defence. Frequently a brave commander and his comrades were massacred in cold blood!

Like all nations emerging from barbarism, our ancestors were impatient of controul: if matters did not suit their expectation, they considered the bond of allegiance dissolved. As the clans were under their respective leaders, it is not difficult to appreciate the danger to the common cause with which the dissatisfaction of the latter was pregnant. On such occasions, they either evaded approaching in sufficient time, or afterwards sought means to withdraw, when their assistance might be most useful. Severe penalties were therefore attached to either offence. Protracted operations of warfare were utterly adverse to the disposition and incli-

the lord Hamiltoun and his adheerentis dis-
 paired of ane better fortoun to cum, but also
 the might perceave extreme danger at hand,
 throw daylie augmentatioun of the kingis
 power, and continewall diminisching of thair
 awin power. James, earle of Douglas, inflamed
 with thir and vther sicklyk wordis, gathered
 his clyandis, kine and freindis, and passed for-
 ward with displayed banner, to seik the kingis
 armie, lying at the seidge of Abercorne, quhilk
 notwithstanding war monie les than the earle
 Douglas armie, yitt the exceidit thame far in
 strenth and courage, sua that when the battel-
 lis war arrayed, standing in otheris sightis,

nation of the inhabitants of Scotland: rapid incursions and
 speedy retreats were best adapted to their genius.

Nothing was so injurious to the state as the unremitting
 wars of the people, either from internal dissension, or from
 contests with the sister kingdom: for the peasantry being
 removed from their proper vocation, not only afforded an
 opportunity for the destruction of their slender means of
 support, but agriculture, on which the subsistence of a na-
 tion so essentially depends, was retarded, and rendered abor-
 tive. Bands of lawless freebooters besides, arose, who, shel-
 tered by the name of their clan, plundered indiscriminately
 from friend and foe: and many were at length glad, by vo-
 luntary sacrifices, to purchase immunity from their licenti-
 ous depredations.

James earle of Douglas perceaved his folkis sumquhat dejected, and dreadfull in countenance; he retired thame back to thair camp, thinkand that they sould be better incouraged to fight vpoun the morne. But this displeased his freindis and principall counsellouris, who war highlie commoved, and declared that his purpose wold be his vtter disadvantage, and should perchance nevir gett so manie in his opinion, semblit in armour againes the king to perform thair purpos; for that, withdrawing of the armie to thair camp againe, should encourage the kingis men so and mak thamsel-fis the more feible. And aboue all men it displeased James Lord Hamilton, quhairfoir in the night following he begane to pause and muse with himself, how throw blind affectioun he had followed and debaited the quarrel so long of James earle Douglas, without richt or reasoun, and being angrie with himself, he called his dependeris and freindis quyettelie, with whom he passed to the king, and having receaved pardon of his ommissiones, he was restored to the kingis favowris againe, quhilk when the earle Douglas' armie perseaved, they faded away poíce and peace, so that

vpoun the morne thairefter, thair appeared nothing in the kingis sight bot plaine fieldis; and albeit the Lord Hamiltoun was forgiven of his offences, yitt the kingis majestie gave him small credit in the beginning, but thairefter sent him to the castle of Rosling to be wairdit with the earle of Orkney, quhill he had won the Castle of Abercorne, quhair he losed manie of his folkis, and sundrie richt evill voundit. But when he did remember that the haill victorie of the Douglassis had fallen to him bot ony blood or strak or sword, throw the disertoun of the lord Hamiltoun, and leiving of thame, he receaved him as ane of his familiar servantis, sua at the last gave his eldest dochter to him in mariage.

But when the earle Douglas vnderstood himself to be destitute, and left of many of his principall freindis, by whose assistance he had interprysed so high matteris contrair the kingis auctoritie, he fled in England with his brother to conqueis himself support, to recover the thing he had lost: and within schort quhyll thairefter, he returned with ane companie in Annerdaill, quhilk was garnished with the kingis men of warre for the tyme, quho mett the said earle Douglas, with his brother and thair assistouris, and fought man-

fullie contrair thame, and put them to flight. In this battell was slaine, Archibald, earle of Murray, with divers vtheris gentlmen and commounes by waiged men: and George, earle of Ormond, efter that he was verrie evill voundit, was tain and keipit in prisone verrie straitlie, quhill he was hailed of his voundis; and thairefter, brought him to the king at Edinburgh, quhair he was headed for his rebellioun. The earle himself, and John, lord Balvenie, escaped verrie narrowlie through ane wood, quhairin they fled for saftie of thair lyves. It is said, that the adverteiser of this prosperous succes, brought with him Archibald Douglas' head to the king; quho was receaved be the king with verrie great thankis. Efter this battell, albeit, James, earle of Douglas, was destitute of his kine and friendis, and had lost mainie of thame: nather had he hope of ony support of Ingland. Yitt, nevertheless, evir defiding vpoun guid fortoun, he passed to Donald, lord of the Illes, and earle of Ros, quhom he knew to be ane of proud mynd, and inclyned to wickednes and mischeife, solisted him to him to his opinion, and was participand of his rebellioun. For this Donald gathered ane companie of wicked mis-

cheivous limmeris, and invadit the king on everie part quhairevir he cam, with great crueltie, not spairing old nor young, without regaird of wyffes, or young infantis in the cradle, quhilk would have moved ane hairt to commiseratioun: and brunt villages, tounes, and cornes, and took sick plentie of riches and guidis, that they could not gett the same scarclie carried away. He invadit Argyll in the same maner with the ille of Arrane, quhair of, quhen he had gottin the castle with fraud and guyle, he maid it equall with the ground, and syne he chaced George, bischope of the Illes and Ardgyle, and slew sundrie of his freindis and servantis, and himselff escaped narrowlie be flieing to ane strength. Att the last, he past to Lochmabane, and out of that to Murray, quhair he invadit with no lese crueltie nor he did befor: and speciallie quhair thair was any favourer of the kingis majestie. Attour, he distroyed and brunt the toun and castle of Innernes, and this he did not so meikle to pleas and gratifie the earle of Douglas, as he did rejoyce to foster mischeife and wickednes, to the quhilk he was given allanerlie. Quhilkis, when sick cruell war and dissentioun rang in Scotland, the king of Ing-

land perceaving comodious opportunitie to tak the advantage, as himself and his predecessouris vont evir to doe befor since the ille of Britthane was inhabited, commandt that his borderis should be brokin, and incursiones to be maid : quhilk was done at his command, but knowlege of the Scotismen, quho having no suspitione of forraine nationes, war spoiled of thair bestiall ; cornes and houses destroyed and brunt ; and sundrie gentlmen and commounes hurt and slaine for the defence of thair guides and geir : sua we perceaved, that Ingland had not forgott old quarrelis vpoun ane small regaird, when the saw any appeir- and vantage to have beine maisteris. And be the contrair, they war faine to thig and crave peace and guid will of the Scottismen, when thair was peace and vnitie amongst the nobles, leiving vnder the subjection and obedience of ane furthie and manlie prince. But albeit that the king of Scotland perceaved that the realme was overgaine with civill warres on the ane pairt, and that it sould be both skaith and schame to him on the vther part, to thoall sick high injuries without remeid, zitt he dissembled till ane tyme more gainand, to be revengit vpoun his enemies.

Att this tyme, Beatrix Douglas, maidin of Galloway, sieing nothing to cum vpoun hir pretendit husband James earle of Douglas, bot vreak, shoe fled to the king cryand mercie for hir offences, laying the wytte vpoun the said James, hir husband, and hir wicked counsallouris and flattereris, who had not onlie fylled hir in making of that wiked mariage, but also against hir will constrained hir to doe the same; sua being destitut of all guid counsallouris and assistouris, could not gainstand such ane pairtie; quhilk now having opportunitie, said she, of the earles absence, to flie the societie of ane wicked and vngodlie lyfe, cam to seik the kingis protection and remissioun for hir bygane offences, quhilk was ane cryme committed vpoun necessitie, rather than of sett purpose. The king, efter he had forgiven this gentlwoman and receaved hir in his favoures, he married hir vpoun his brother, Johne earle of Atholl, the blak knyght of Lorne's sone, and tochered hir with the lordschip of Balvenie: quhilk when the earle of Ros' wayff vnderstood the king to be sum pairt favourable to all that sought his grace, shoe fled also vnder his protectione, to eschew the cruell tyrannie of hir husband,

quhilk shoe dredit sumtymes befoir. The king called to remembrance that this voman, was married not be hir awin counsall, to Donald of the Illes; he gave hir also sufficient landis and leiving, quhairon shoe might leive according to hir estate.

Not long efter this, Patrick Crichtoun, ane of the kingis own court, who was ane favourer of the Douglas factione, cruellie without any ruth, slew Johne Sandelands of Cather and ane Allane Stewart besyd Dumbartane, becaus they war the kingis adhearentis: quhilk was not long vnpunished; for his majestie vsed sick diligence, quhill he apprehendit the tyrrant and his complices, and put thame to dead as they deserved.

Schortlie efter this, sundrie of the nobles and great men deceist, sick as Williame earle of Errol, constable of Scotland; George Crichtoun earle of Caithnes, who being vext with great infirmities, becaus he had no sones to succeid in his place, he resigned the landis quhilk he gott to him and his aires maill onlie, in the kingis awin handis, sieing thair was no lyffe for him. The landis should have fallin to the croun efter his decease. Sir William Crichtoun, sumtyme chancellour, deceast

this same yeir, ane man of great forsicht, and singular manhood, ane faithfull subject, and ane sicker targe to the commounweill, to his lyves end : And als Alexander earle of Crawford, of whom mentioun was maid of befoir ; in whose rowme David his sone succedit, ane of the noblest in those dayes. And many otheris nobles and gentlemen whose names war tedious to rehearse.

Not long efter this, Hendrie Pearsie, earle of Northumberland, and James earle Douglas, who was latlie forfalt, entred in the borderis with ane great armie, both of Scottis and Inglismen, and waisted all with fire and sword quhairevir they cam : quhill at the last, the earle of Angus mett thame with ane companie of chosin men, and pat thame to flight ; for when the armies war fightand most cruellie, with vncertane victorie, ane great pairt of the Inglismen, not small in estimatioun, greidie for geir and prey, more nor for honour or fear of their lyves, begane to spoyll and dryve away thair enemies horsis and guidis, and left thair nighbouris in battell, voyd of support, quhilk maid ane facill and path way that day, to obtaine the victorie. In this battell war slaine of the Inglismen to the number of four-scoir ; and threscoir and ten gentlemen takin

captives, with otheris that war taine in skirmishing befor the chok of the battell. When this victorie was told to the king, and how the Inglismen had vaisted so meikle; vpoun the borderis, bot ony occasione or break of him to Ingland, he was verie sorie that the realme had beine ouerthrown in itself with discord and civill warres, and himselff troublet day be day, that he might not guidlie be revengit of thair saikles injuries and incursiones. Attour, it offendit him most of all, that his enemies raged more and more in their insolencie, and that he was compassed with rebellione on everie syd; so that he could not interpryse to requyt thair invasiones without great loss of men and guidis, and putting the realme to extream danger. In the mean tyme, when the king was musing vpoun this purpose, Donald earle of Ros, and lord of the Illes, sent messengeris to his majestie, to be remitted of all offences and rebellion that he had done, thinking weill that he was so merciful to the earle of Crawford, that he would be no lese mercifull to him; bot he wold not put himselffe in perrill as Crawfoord did, and thairfoir sent one of his most speciall freindis, who obtained his remissioun, pairtlie throw the kingis humanitie, and pairtlie throw the requeistis of

sum of the nobles of the realme. Bot the kingis majestie led the matter verie craftilie, and fand the moyane how he wold not openlie and plainlie forgive at that present, the wicked and treasonable deadis of this wicked tyrant; nor yitt wold he mak the messengeris despair of thair cheife remissioun: bot answered thame verrie craftilie and gentlie, holding thame in hope; saying, that the earle of Ros nevir deserved to be remitted at his hand, for his crueltie and rebellion, latlie committed, yit nevertheles, since all men on earth, and speciallie kingis and princes, that representis the divyne majestie of God, who of his vn-speakable goodnes, receaves man in the bosome of his mercie, so soone as he repentis him of his sine, not for any guid dead that man can doe to recompence him, who should thirst no manis blood, bot to be gracious and mercifull to all that ar becum penitent of thair trespassis, yitt becaus it perteānes allanerlie to God, to know the invard thoughtis and heartis of men, nor that manes nature cannot perceave fardder nor he sies be outward tokines and signes, and thairfoir he would the earle of Ros doe sum notable act quhairby all men should perceave and understand that he repented intirelie with his heart, befoir he should

receave full remissioun of all offences. Attour, that the earle of Ros should refound all the skaith of tounes, fortalices, and villages, that he had either brunt or casten down, and to restore the guidis and geir to everie man, that he had takin away. This being done, the earle of Ros should be remitted, and his complices, of all offences bygane.

Sua the north isles being sett at rest, the king sett his haill cure to invaid Ingland, and aither to be revengit, or els requytted of all oppressiones. And, to bring his purpose more easie to effect, he ordained quhat way this should be done most commodiouslie. Bot behold, during the tyme of this conventioun, thair cam ane ambassadour from Richard, Duck of York, Edward Mortimer earle of Warwick, with thair confederatis, to seek support of men of warre, contrair Hendrie, king of Ingland, quhom they purposed to depose of his royall dignitie, albeit this Hendrie, throw his awin sleuth and negligence, and wicked counsall, had lost France and Normandie, quhilk his forbearis had conquiest to his hand. Yitt he tuik matteris so high and desperat, that almost misterred the consultatioun of great and noblmen, whom it behoved to spend thair lyves and landis for the recovering thair of: he

admitted no such men to his counsall, bot extolled slaves and men of small estate, be reason they could flatter him, and that was delectable to his conceit : and preferred thame to the administratioun and government of the commounweill befor all nobles and gentlemen of the realme, quhois manheid and deadis spred throw all the world : and war comoved to conspyre and conveyne thamselffis againes him to depryve him of the croun ; spèciallie the noblmen of the kingis hous, to whom the just title of the croun of Ingland appertained ; quhilk befell thrid sone to Edward, lawfull air to Richard the Second, that of his bodie war distroyed and put down be Henrie the Feird. So now, at this present, the duik of York, thinkand that he had better occasioun to recover the croun nor Hendrie the Feird had to releive the same fra Richard the Second, and Leonellis posteritie adjoyned thamselffis in conspiracie with thir noblmen, be whose moyane and assistance he purposed to recover his richt and heritage, that had beine haldin and rest so long from him and his forbearis. Becaus they war not equall, nather in riches nor power, within thamselffis, they sent to the king of Scotland, promeisand perpetuall freindschip, with great rewardis, if

they brought thair purpose to effect. Sua, when the ambassadour gatt presence of the kingis majestie, in sicht of the lordis and earles conveyned for the tyme, the principall of thame made his harring in maner following.

“ How wicked and vngodlie a thing it is, most mightie and invincable prince, to place ane ignorant in hie estat and reginent of ane countrie. How can it be that a man who cannot guid himself, sall wyslie guid vtheris? Be the confrair, how necessar thing it is, ane wyse and potent prince have the rulling over ane realme, quhairof we have the experience both in our dayes, by divers manner of wayes. For all kingis and princes, most redoubted prince, marvellis of thy craft and wisdome, who, heing but ane young man, or rather ane chyld, hes sett and put to rest the realme of Scotland, without great slauchter and effusioun of blood, be ane excellent witt and divine knowledge and providence, quhilk, in thy minoritie, was wreakit and divydit be the sedition and factiones of potent men within the samyne. Sua we most, of verrie force, grant the felicitie and happie progres of all thy doeingis befor we enter to intreat into vther matteris. Thairfoir we pray that the prospe-

rous beginning may indure for evir. Bot our king Hendrie, how vnlyklie is he to thy manneris and conditiones, and how far different from thy vsage and governance of ane realme, and how he does behave himselfe, as it is vnknown to thy majestie. For the ignorance of that man, infected and corrupted with everie evill counsall and flatterie, not onlie is the croun and flourishing fame of Ingland suppressed and turned to scorne, bot also ane great pairt of the impyre and dominion of France, yea nothing inferior to the realme of Ingland, quhilk was conquest be our forbearis, tint and lost. Since so it is that we are oppressed with slaves, quhilk the king hes preferred, nobles of this realme lightlied and sett a syd, from base estate to high dignitie, who, being placed in his auctoritie, hes sicker power over the nobilitie, that they dare scarce compleane, or seik justice for any offence, or to give counsall quhat war best to be done for the preservatioun of the commounweill, quhilk the nobles of the realme cannot suffer longer, sieing it is contrair the commounweill: and als being suffered, sall bring vs to vreak, and our inhabitantes to vtter exterminatioun. Sua it shall pleas yow to understand, most victorious prince, that takis no vndoubtit nor new

purpose in hand, in depyrying ane and putting another in his place. For our noble progenitouris and forbearis debarred Hendrie the Thrid's sone, called Edward Crookbak, from the croun, becaus he was not so lustie, nor of so guid ane dispositioun of his bodie as was thought expedient for ane prince to attempt sick high matteris as was than adoe, albeit he was ane man of guid witt and ingyne, to whom lauffullie the croun apperteaned. Nevirtheles, the realme having scharp wares in France, thought expedient, for the government of the impyre, to chuse ane man, not onlie wyse in mynd, bot also ane man of guid personage and manlie spirit, etc. for this purpose. Then Edward, younger brother to this man, of singular courage, and of no lese craft and wisdom, nor his brother, Edward, and in bewtie more excellent, and aboue all men of the realme in strongnes and abilitie, the lordis maid him king, and debarred this Edward. So may appear how meikle wisdom and manheid be requyred in ane persone who beires the chaarge over the commounweill, and speciallie to our realme of England, quhilk, be the negligence of ane Inglisch prince, is lyk to lose that quhilk our forbearis conquiest in France. Atour, how damnable a thing it is, to have ane

ignorant captane of warre, destitute of all guid counsall, the unhappie mischance will bear witnes of the lose and tinsall of the forsaidis landis of France, quhik was Inglandis befoir. And sicklyk, in peace to have ane foolish prince, corrupted and led away with flattereris and wicked counsall. Not onlie know we that he is dangerous, bot also hes wexed Scotland with civill warres, as yow may have experience, quhilk hes beine oft so wexed and spoylled, when Hendrie of Ingland knew that thy majestie might not waitt vpoun France warres. Quhairfor, we exhort your majestie, to enarme your selff for this effect, not onlie for our caus, bot for your awin cause, and to revenge the injuries that Scotland hes sustained, evir to be revengit vpoun the principall authouris off oppressioun. How honest, and necessar, thairfoir, is the ground and quarrell of our intentioun, be thir reasons for-said, may easilie be vnderstood. Now, latt ws sie how easilie this may be brought to pas without great slauchter, if yea pleas to support ws, and quhat revard salbe thairfor, quhilk being declared, we sall schortlie mak ane end; and I desir to know of quhat strength and power the king of Scotland is, and than quhat is the thing that we may doe, and than

I believe the matter salbe manifest to ws all. When the realme of Ingland did flourish in chivalrie, and all that haill boundis and dominiones, quhilkis our predicessouws, with thair conquest, did augment thairto, was not diminished, and now, since we have losed the landis within France, quhilkis without the help of Scotland we dispair to recover againe, in so far, that if any of the factiounes of Ingland may gett the support of any forrane prince, the vther easilie should be overthroun. Attour, thair was nevir seditioun nor discord till now of latt in the realme of Ingland, bot it touched ws all as ane: bot since all was sleuthed, thair was no mischiefe could befall our king, bot was delyvered vnto ws; and the haill nobilitie so long wexed and irked with the tyrranie of king Hendrie, to lous thame-selffis of the yok of thraldome, hes taine purpose to surrogatt Richard, duk of York, in his royall place. For our factioun far surmontes the kingis assisteris, both in nobilitie and wisdome: and albeit we doubt of the popularie, quhilk, appearandlie to the eyis of man, favoures the kingis pairtie, and yitt they are so variable, that they desir no more nor ane grutt man that wold begin the walter: as may be weill knowin of Hendrie of Irland,

quhen he gave the commounes to vnderstand, that fra thair libertie was reft fra thame be the avaritious greidines of courtiouris, if they wold assist his interpryse, quhilk was taine in hand be this Hendrie's perswasoun, as is manifest to this whole ille: and had taine effect bot doubt, if the subtile craft of the chancelar with fraud and guyle, had not schortlie stanchied the samyne: Yea, in so far, that now presentlie, we schould have this matter nather to begine nor end. Finallie, that we mak an end of the thing we have begune, now we cum, most reuerend prince, to get support, promising with renewis thairfor, which the duik of York and the earle of Warwick, with the adwyce of the rest of the nobilitie, and thair opinion, hes commandit ws to promise to thy majestie, if thow wilt assist thame: and quhat boundis and landis your Grace predicessouris possest sumtyme in Northumberland, with Barvick, and vther landis adjacent thairto, for reward and recompence. And last of all, ane perpetuall band of amitie to be bund vp betwixt the two realmes, and to remaine as ane, and so to indure for evir."

Quhen the ambassadour had endit this har-
ring in this maner, the king caused him to re-

move, quhill he had consulted vpoun ane answer. And when the king had adwysed with the nobles, the ambassadour cam againe, and the king said in this maner. "It is not vnknowin to ws the just title that the duik of York hes to the crown of England: bot the assistance of my realme should not be givin nor grantit temerariouslie, nor for ane light caus, without great travell and deliberatioun, and tryall of the caus. Bot that I referre to the wisdome and conventioun of the nobilitie of England; and as for armes and forces, be assured, that I have just caus to denunce warre to the king of England. First, sieing he did wex my realme and leidges saikleslie with incursionnes, the time when the samyne was perturbed with civill warres. Then also, when I did seik redres, king Hendrie refusied to give, and delayed his answer thairvpoun. Thairfoir, if the duik of York, the earle of Warwick, and . . . with the rest of the nobilitie of the factioun, will keip promiseis, they salbe assured, that my haill strength and forces salbe in readines to invaid your kingis favoureris with fire and sword, quhair evir I cum, and sal doe my vtter diligence to expell king Hendrie, and restore the duik of York to his awin place."

So when the ambassadouris had receaved thair answeris, and faithfull promisees givin and taine on everie syd, they departed, and reported the kingis answer to the duik of York, and the earle of Warwick.

In this mean tyme, the king of Scotland commandit, be oppin proclamatioun, all men to be in readines vpoun ane certane day, with armour and victuallis, to invaid thair old enemies with fyre and sword. But behold the quyet and accustomed deceitt of Ingland. Quhen the king was passand fordward, as he had promiseid, to invade thame, ane Inglis-man mett thame be the way, who favoured the king of Ingland most intyrlie, perfyte in the Italiane tongue, who could weill lie, flatter, and dissemble, with ane hard and peart countenance; instructed be king Hendrie with billis and commissiounes, as if they had beine send from the Pope of Rome: and in his companie, ane monk who did counterfeitt ane marvellous gravitie, and ane hollines, who said it was the Pope's will, that nather the king of Scotland, nor nane of his companie, could pas any fardder to invaid Ingland, vnder the paine of cursing and censur of the halie kirk; for throw this dissentione, says he, of Christiane princes, the Turkis, cruell ene-

mies to Godis word, creipis in maire and mair in Europe. By thair tyrranie, they have subdeued ane gritt pairt thair of to thair dominiones and impyre. Thairfoir, lett all warres be set asyd, and peace establisched among Christiane men. Moreover, said he, it is ordained, that all men adrese thameselffis for expelling of the commoun enemye, who wold not onlie expell thame of thair friedome and libertie, bot also of the word of God, quhilk is the most pretious thing on earth: and to bring all discord rigneand in the Ill of Brittane, the more easilie to ane guid end. Thair be vther ambassadoures, sayes he, directed from the Pope to the king of Ingland, to repair all injuries done be him to the duik of York, and that all quarrellis and debaites betwixt thame be finallie aggried.

King James, beleiving no deceit in this fraudfull fellowis sayingis, obeyed the charge, and skailled his armie. But scantlie was he cum home, when he perceaved the craft and subtiltie of his enemies dewysed againest him, so being penitent of his facile obedience, he gathered ane new armie, and passed forward vpoun his enemies.

In this meane tyme, the duik of Yorkis armie, quhair of ane great pairt cam with the

earle of Warwick, passed in arrayed batle, contrair king Hendrie, without any expectation of the Scottismenis cuming : and vpoun the vther syd, the kingis adheerentis met thame verrie stoutlie, quhois principall chiftanes vnder the king war, the duik of Somersaitt, Buringhame, and the earle of Cliffurd. It was verrie manfullie foughtin on both sydis, bot at last the kingis armie was vanquished and overcum, and himselff tane prisoner, and had to London, and his thrie chiftanes forsaidis war slaine, with many vtheris gentlmen and commounes. Soone efter this victorie, when he cam to London, thair was ane convention, quhair the hail nobilitie agried on that head, that the king schould not be depryved at that tyme of his royall office and estat : but that his wicked coursallouris and flattereris, as the verrie corrupteris of his guid ingyne, should rather be put to dead, or els sequestrat from his companie, and be banished the realme, and himselff to be keipit firmlie quhill fardder consultatioun. For it appeired verrie vnlesum to many of the counsall, not onlie to put hand in ane living prince, bot also to reive the honorabill impyre from the annoynted of God, to quhom the realme once had given thair oath of fidelitie : for, in so doing, they

sould be compelled, als ane conjured people, to chuse ane vther in his place, and thairfoir concludit, that the duik of York schould be governour of the realme, during the kingis lyf tyme, and als the earle of Warwick was maid captane of Caleise, which was than of the auctoritie among the Inglismen, the earle of Sarisberrie, great chancellour of the realme; and sua it was done, quhill fardder consultation in all affaires might be had.

In this meane tyme the king invaidit the king of Englandis favoureris in the north, with all crueltie, and when he had wone the toun of Roxburgh, quhilk the Inglismen had than ingarnished with men and munitioun, and kest doun the same to the ground, he seiged the castle thair of, and, quhill he was most busie, ambassadouris cam from the duik of York and the earle of Warwick, with the rest of the factioun, showand the victorie that was thairis, and thanked him for his guidwill and readines, promeising to doe the lyk to his majestie, when occasioun should befall: praying him to desist from the seidge, and not to molest the realme of England, sieing God hath granted the victorie to thame, in so far that they war maisteris over the realme: vtherwayes that he wold exasperat thame of England to

wraithe and ire, who alreadie would have invaid-
it the Scottis armie, war not the greater obstacle
and impediment. The king answeired, that he
was glaid of thair prosperous succes and victo-
rie that had befallin the duik of York, but did
marvell how it could be that he could be offen-
dit, or the nobilitie of England, sieing he had
done nothing bot that quhilk they had most
effectuousslie desired him vnto. Attour, when
the king desired the promise to be fulfilled
quhilk was maid to him, the ambassadouris
said they had no commission to answer thair-
vnto : att the quhilk the king was so highlie
offendit, that he refused thair bandis and kynd-
nes alluterlie as vnworthie of credit, bot alto-
gidder fals and dissembled, and albeit they
discordit in sum affaires, yitt they aggreeid
altogidder in trumperie and falshood, and
thairfoir said to the ambassadoures in this ma-
ner. “ Albeit the duik and his conjured fac-
toun be proud and insolent of this victorie
laitlie obtained, quhair throw they disdaine to
keip thair promise maid to me, yitt nevir-
theles, with Godis grace, I salbe avengit on all
injuries done to me, or to my realme, as I
have determinat of befoir, that the ambassa-
douris solisted for that effect, not knowing than
thair subtill deceit, and also salbe revengit on

this injurie, quhilk is most of all, in violating most vnworthelie thair sole nne promiseis and oathis, quhilkis the saidis ambassadouris promeist to me in thair names." Sua the ambassadouris depairtit with this answeir. Than the king commandit the souldiouris and men of warre to assault the castle; but the Inglis-men defendit so manfullie within, that the siege appeired longer to indure, nor was believed: quhairthrow the king was determined to compell thame within the hous, be long tarrie, to render and give it over. Att quhilk tyme, Donald of the Illes, whom we spak of befoir, came to the seidge with ane great armie of men, all armed in the Highland faschione, with halbershownes, bowis, and axis, and promised to the king, if he pleased to pas any fardder in the boundis of Ingland, that he and his companie should pas ane lairge myll befoir the hoast, and tak vpoun thame the first preas and dint of the battell. The king, efter he had receaved him with great humanitie, said to him, that he wold vse the counsall of the nobilitie in all progres of warres, and rejoyced meikle that Donald was so readie to jeopard himself and his freindis for the defence of the commounweill. Efter this he bad him stent his pavilliones a litle by himself,

quhill fardder occasioun served to doe as he desired. This Donald obedient at command, efter he had takin the place to him and his folkis that war thair present for the tyme; he sent out sundrie of his men to spoyll and hirrie the countrie about the camp, sieing the seidge lasted longer nor they beleived: for, albeit a gritt pairt of the keiparis of the hous war perished and tint for hunger, and the rest strailie oversett be the seidgeris, yitt, nevirtheles they perseveired so strailie without regaird of thair adverseris, that the persewaris war almost tint with the long seidging, quhill the cuming of Alexander, earle of Huntlie, who brought a great companie of stout and chosin men with him, quhilk made the king so blyth that he commandit to chaarge all the gunes, and give the castle ane new volie. But quhill this prince, more curious nor became the majestie of ane king, did stand near hand by, quhair the artylliarie wer dischaarged, his thigh bone was dung in tuo be ane peice of ane misframed gune, that brak in the schutting: be the quhilk he was strukin to the ground, and died hastilie thairefter: quhilk greatumlie discouraged his wholl nobles and servandis that war standing about him. Bot he commandit all that knew of his misfortoun

to keip silence, incace it being devulgit, it should discourage the souldiouris and men of warre, that they should schamfullie dissolve the seidge. Bot how soone the queine hard tell of this mischeife, shoe tuik hir young sone, called James, efter his father, the Thrid of that name, and brought him, with ane stout courage, evin representand the Almanes and Gil-dreanes courage, of quhom shoe was discendit, albeit no man of the hoast supponed nothing of hir bot mourning and lamenting for hir husband. Sua, by all menis expectatioun this noble princes cam, with an stout courage and countenance, and exhorted all true Scottis-men to beir furth the seidge quhill aither the castle should be rendrit or overcum be strong hand, saying in this maner to thame: "I pray yow most valiant campiones, now sieing yea have brought this matter neir ane end, that yea will not tyne the great tyme and labouris quhilkis yea have spendit thairvpoun, and not schamfullie to leive that which yea have begune altogidder with on consent; and thairfoir latt not the mischance of onlie one man break yow of your courage, or yitt thairby to cast doun your gentle heartis, or mak to dispair, and sieing this chance is not knawin to the rest, that yea would bear guid counte-

nance, sua that non of thame may know the same be ony signe of sadnes, quhilk salbe onawayes better hid from the armie, nor by your stout perseveirance in the pursuitt of your enemies, with als guid will as yea begane. Forward, thairfoir, my guid lordis, and latt not your selffis appear in vomenis personages, lamentand for any misfortoun of the world that is naturall, for that becumes wayffes rather then men, to be casting to and fro the fortoun of adversitie of this fragill world! Quhat is this yea ar doeing? rather should yea comfort me, being ane wayff, than I yow. I beseich yow that yea nevir turne your bakis from the seidge, vnto the tyme yea have maid ane end thairof." Throw thir wordis the chiftanes war not so meikle moved with the queines couragious wordis, as aschamed of ane vomanis hardiment, quhilk far surmonted above thair awin, and thairfoir was compelled, vpoun thair honoures, to pursew thair enemies to the vttermost of thair power. And that they should not be ane headles people, without ane king, they tuik the kingis eldest sone, king James, and maid him king James the Thrid. Efter the quhilk the Inglismen might not long endure the seige, sieing thair was no hope of releive nor comfort. So, efter

they had givin over the same, the keiparis thairof war lattin pas, with bag and baggage, and frie with thair lyves ; and the castle castin down to the ground, leist it^e should have beine ane strenth to Inglismen againes Scottismen thairefter, quhilk was done in August, in the yeir of God 1460 yeires, and the twentie nynt yeir of king James the Secondis aige, efter that he had rigned twentie thrie yeires.

It is said that thair was many marvellis about this tyme, that prognosticat the kingis death. The night befor his deceas thair appeared ane cleir comet. In the yeir preceiding thair was one borne, quhilk had the memberis both of male and female, called in oure language ane scratch, in whom manes nature did prevail, bot becaus his dispositioun and proportioun of bodie represented ane voman, he being in ane manes hous, in Linlithgow, and so associating in bedding with the guidman of the hous his dochter, maid hir to conceave with chyld ; quhilk being devulgit throw the countrie, and the matrones vnderstanding this damosell deceived in this manner, being offendit that this monster tratour should sett him forth as ane voman, being ane verrie man, they gatt him accused in judgment, to be brunt quick for his schamfull behaviour.

About this tyme thair was ane briggant tane, with his haill familie, quho haunted a place in Angus. This mischeivous man had ane execrable faschione to tak all young men and childrene aither he could steall away quietlie, or tak away without knowledge, and eat thame, and the younger they war, esteemed them the more tender and delitious. For the quhilk caus, and damnable abuse, he with his wayff and bairnes, war all brunt, except ane young wench of a yeir old, wha was saiffed, and brought to Dundie, quhair shoe was broucht vp and fosterred, and when shoe cam to ane vomanes yeires, shoe was condemned and brunt quick for that cryme. It is said, that when shoe was cuming to the place of execution, thair gathered ane hudge multitud of people, and speciãllie of vomen, cursing hir that shoe was so unhappie, to committ so damnable deidis. To quhom shoe turned about, with an irefull countenance, saying, "Quhairfoir chyd yea with me, as if I had committed ane vnworthie act; give me credance and trow me, if yea had experience of eating men and vomenis flesh, yea wold think it so delitious, that yea would nevir forbear it againe." So bot ony signe of repen-

tance, this vnhappie traitour died in the sight of the people.

About this tyme thair was many cunning men, be whose vertewes letteris flowrisched, quhilkis war almost perished be the barbarous crueltie of the Gothis: sick as Laurentius Vala, ane gentlman of Rome, who did great guid in the restitutionoun of the Latine tongue, as his workis does witnes. Siclyk Franciscus Philephus, and Petriarcha, both singular guid oratouris: and Nicolas Pirotus who sett his wholl studie to abolich the old rud maner of leichment and to garnisch and teach the youth with eloquent language, in all kyndis of sciencies: Theodore Gaza, ane cunning and expert man, with manie otheris whose names war tedious to rehearse.

HEAR BEGINES THE CRONICLES OF SCOTLAND,
OF THE DEADIS AND ACTIS OF KING JAMES
THE THRID, AND QUHAT HAPPENED IN HIS
TYME.

JAMES the Second vnhappilie slaine in this manner forsaide, as we have schowin, Margaret his wayff continewed still at the seidge evir exhorting the lordes and barones to be stout till the samyne war won; and to that effect shoe brought hir young sone king James the Thrid, to remaine at the seidge with the lordis till the castle was won. Yitt he was bot of tender aige, and could vse no vasselage; bot his cuming encouraged the people so, that the forgot the death of his father, and past manfullie to the hous, and wan the same, and justified * the captane thairof, and kest it down to the

* Put to death.

ground that it should not be ane impediment to thame thairefter.

Soone efter this, thair was ane conventioun sett at Scoone, quhair queine mother, with the rest of the nobilitie conveyned, and thair crouned hir sone king James the Thrid, being sewin yeires of aige, and thairefter was delyvered to Bischope Kennedie, in keiping, to learne letteris at the scooles.

At this tyme, George Douglas earle of Angus was wairden of the borderis, and oftymes defendit the same manfullie, quhairthrow he was maid lievetennent both be the queine and counsall, to pas^r with the wholl bodie of the realme in defence of the borderis; and efter ane little quhill the Homes gathered with the Hepburnes, with the support of Lowdian men, and passed to Wark, and kest down the same. Thairefter the Inglismen took peace with Scotland, for fifeine yeires, quhilk was granted to thame be the counsall of bischop James Kennedie, quho helped weill to governe the realme during his dayes. But the speciall caus of so great tranquillitie and peace in Scotland was, becaus the Inglismen had warres within thamselffis daylie, stryveand for the auctoritie and croun of Ingland, betuixt the

duik of York and king Hendrie the Sixt, quho within ane schort quhill efter, desired ane conduct for his wayff and eldest sone, and certane of thair kine and freindis, conteaneand the number of a thousand men, to remaine ane quhyll in Scotland at his pleasour, quhilk conduct was granted to him be the king and counsall, and was weill receaved, and remained in the Grayfreires of Edinburgh, so long as he pleased. Not long efter this, the queine of Ingland past in France, for shoe was ane French voman, and many of the nobles passed with hir, and king Hendrie at this tyme gave Barvick to the Scotismen, for his support and intertainment, quhilk he gatt in Scotland at that tyme.

In this mean tyme, bischop James Kennedie guydit the king and counsall in guid vnitie and peace, quhairthrow the commounweill flourished greatumlie. He foundit ane triumphand colledge in Sanct Androis, called Sanct Salvitouris colledge, quhairin he maid his lear verrie curiouslie and coastlie, and also he biggit ane schip called the bischopis barge, etc. and when all thrie wer compleit, to witt, the colledge, the lair and the barge, he knew not quhilk of thrie was costliest; for it was rekoned for the tyme, be honest men of consi-

derratioun, that the least of the thrie, cost him ten thousand pund sterling.

In this meane tyme, Hendrie the Sixt depairted out of Scotland towardis England, and schortlie efter he was taine be king Edward and put in prison. Att this tyme the king of France sent ane captane called Petir Bruce, hearing that the king was put in prisone, as said is, with certane support to king Hendrie, but or he cam he was taine be king Edward. Thairfoir the said Captane Bruce tuik ane castle in the north pairt of England, callit Annick, and thair thought to defend himselfe manfullie, qthill he gatt support. Bot Edward the new king hearing of his intent and provisioun, caused ane armie cum and seidge the castle. The said Captane Bruce knowing no releive to cum to him hais-tilie, send to the counsall of Scotland desiring tham to releive him, or elis to skaill the seidge, promising to thame to caus the king of France, his maister, refound thame the coastis, skaith, and dampnage susteained be thame, in the said caus. George earle of Angus, wairdin of the borderis, and great leivtenuent, incontinent raised an armie of Scottismen, to the number of twentie thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsmen, and when he was mairching near the

castle, he chosed out ten thousand men of the best of his armie, and passed to the said castle on swift horsis, as it had beine ane forrey, and caused the rest of his armie cum in sight of the castle in arrayed battell, as ane staill, in caice it had chanced the Inglismen to give thame battell. But incontinent the Inglismen war so affrayed with the suddene cuning of the Scottis, that they skailled the seidge, and gave him place, quhill he releived the said captane of France, and brought him saife in Scotland, and thair put him to libertie to pas in France with his companie as he pleased.

In the yeir of God 1463 yeires, Margaret, queine of Scotland, and dochter to the Duik of Gildar, depairted at Edinburgh, and was buried in the Trinitie Colledge, quhilk shoe built hir selff, efter her husbandis deceas, king James the second. This queine was verrie wyse and vertuous in hir husbandis tyme: bot soone efter his deceas, shoe knawing hir selff to be regent and governour of the realme, sieing all men to obey hir, and non to controll hir, shoe became to be leichèrous of hir bodie, and tuik Abraham Hepburne of Haillis, who had ane wayff of his awin, and committed adulterie with him, quhilk caused hir to be lightlied of all the nobilitie of Scotland; sieing

shoe saw so many earles, lordis, and barones sones in Scotland, frie of marriage, and would not have desired thame to satisfie hir lust, bot tuik ane vther wayffes husband to satisfie hir vunchast appetite.

This same yeir, Alexander, duik of Albanie, and brother to king James the Thrid, was sent to France, to learne the language and vther letteris, directed be bischop James Kennedie of St Androis. The said Alexander, and his schip was taine be Inglismen, quho was hais-tilie delyvered to the supplicatioun of bischop James Kennedie, for the said bischop promiseit to the counsall of Ingland, that thair schould be no peace keipit, if the said Alexander and his schipes war not restored againe, the quhilk was done immediatlie at his desir. For the Inglismen had sick civill warres within thaimselfis, that they durst not break peace with Scotland.

In the yeir of God 1466 yeires, bischop James Kennedie departed out of this present lyfe, and was burried in Sanct Androis, in the colledge quhilk himself foundit. This bischop Kennedie was vondrous godlie and wyse, and was weill learned in divine sciences, and practised the same to the glorie of God, and weill of his church; for he caused all persones

and vicares to remaine at thair parochie kirkis, for the instructions and edifieing of thair flock, and caused thame preach the word of God to the people, and visit thame that war seik ; and also the said bischope visited every kirk within the diocie, four tymes in the yeir, and preached to the said parochin him selfe the word of God, and inquyred of thame if they war dewlie instructed be thair persone and viccar, and if the poore war susteained, and the youth brought vp, and learned according to the ordour that was taine in the kirk of God ; and quhair he found not this ordour keipit, he maid great punischment, to the effect that Godis glorie might shyne in his diocie: leiving guid example to all archbischopis and kirk men to caus the patrimonie of Godis word to be vsed to his awin' glorie, and to the commonweill of the poore. Fardder, he was ane man weill learned in the civill lawis, and had practised the same, so that he was most able of any in Scotland, aither spirituall or temporall to give ane wyse counsall, and speciallie in Parliament, or when embassadouris craved thair intentis, was non so meitt as he to have answeired thame. Or whan any civill insurrection was in the countrie, and speciallie les

majestie againes the kingis awin persone, quhairin he was weill practised, for he gave counsall to king James the Second, when he was ready to depairt out of Scotland, for feare of the earle Douglas, who was gathered againes him, to the number of fourtie thousand men, readie to give him battell, or elis to chase him out of Scotland. Notwithstanding, this guid bischope, sieing this noble prince desolat of all counsall, and dispairred of any guid hope or succes of victorie to fall to him over his enemies, caused this noble prince cum to St Androis or his depairtur, and gave him such counsal as efter followis : That is, he had him to ane oratour*, and desired him to mak his supplicatioun to Almighty God, that he might opin his eyis, that he might have the wisdom and strenth to dantoun his conspiratoris, quhilkis was rissen vp againes him, contrair to the law of God and man, and contrair the commounweill of the réalme. Quhen they had both ended thair supplicationes and prayeris, this hollie bishop schew ane similitud to the king, quhilk might bring him to experience how he might invaid againes the

* Oratory.

Douglass, and the rest of the conspiratouris. This bischop tuik furth ane great scheife of arrowes knitt togidder werrie fast, and desired him to put thame to his knie, and break thame. The king said it was not possible, becaus they war so many, and so weill fastened togidder. The bischop answeired, it was werrie true, bot yitt he wold latt the king sea how to break thame: and pulled out on be on, and tua be tua, quhill he had brokin thame all; then said to the king, "Yea most doe with the conspiratouris in this manner, and thair complices that are risen againes yow, quho are so many in number, and so hard knit togidder in conspiracie againes yow, that yea cannot gett thame brokin togidder. Butt be sick praticke as I have schowin yow be the similitud of thir arrowes, that is to say, yea myst conqeis and break lord by lord be thame-selffis, for yea may not deall with thame all at once. Thairfoir, mak ane proclamatioun out throw the realme to all sick as hes offendit yow, and grant thame ane frie remissioun to be guid men in tymes cuming, and to serve your grace at this instant tyme in your necessitie. The quhilk being done, I trust your grace sall gett moe followeris nor your contrair partie. The king hearing of this guid

counsall, took guid courage, and caused mak proclamatiounes in all pairtes of the realme to the effect forsaide. He pulled vp his banner in St Androis, and cam to Falkland the first night in arrayed battell, and on the morne went to Stirling, accompanied with this noble bischope, James Kennedie, with all the lordis of Fyffe, Angus, and Stratherne, and remained in Stirling quhill the north pairt of Scotland cam to him ; quhilk hail people being conveined, wer thrittie thousand : and thair-
after, awfullie with displayed banner, cam forward againes the earle Douglas, quho was lyand camped in fear of warre on the southsyd of the watter of Carron, thrie myll from the Torwood, with the nvmber of fourtie thousand men, thinkand no lese in his mynd, nor he schould be pairtie to the king, and give him battell : or elis to caus him leive the realme. Bot on the vther syd, bischop James Kennedie vsed ane craftie mean to break the armie and forces of the earle Douglas. He sent ane secreit servand of his awin to James, lord Hamiltoun, quho was principall captane of the earle Douglas armie at that tyme, and had thrie hundreth futmen, and als manie horsmen at his governance vpoun the earle Douglas expenssis, to pas with him quhair he

pleased. Yitt, nevirththeless, the said lord Hamiltoun, being advertaised be his eame bischope Kennedie, of the kingis guid mynd towardis him and favour, quhilk he had purchaised be his moyane, schowand him if he wold returne and leive the earle Douglas at that tyme, he should have ane frie remissioun for all thingis bypast, and great rewardis in tymes to cum, quhilk he obtained as said is. Notwithstanding this, lord Hamiltoun, having ane kyndlie love to the earle Douglas, and great respect to his awin honour, pondered the matter in his awin mynd, thinkand that he would assay the earle Douglas mynd in the said caus; and quhat he was purposed to doe at that tyme. Thairfoir, he passed to the earle Douglas incontinent, and requyred of him quhat was his mynd; if he would give the king battell or not; schowing him, the longer he delayed, his number would be the smaller, and the king would be the more able againes him. The earle answeired, if he war tyred, he might pas when he pleased. Of the quhilk answeir, the said lord Hamiltoun was verrie weill content, and that same night past to the king, quhair he was weill received. And than the rest of the barrones and gentlmen sieing the depairture of the lord Hamiltoun, being

ane man of singular wisdom and courage, and in quhom the armie put thair wholl hope of victorie, war strukin with such fear, that everie man passed his way : so that on the morne thairefter, the earle Douglas had not ane hunder men, by his awin housold, quho sieing this, fled hastilie in Annerdail, quhair he was schortlie vanquished be ane band of men of warre of the kingis. Sua this prince obtained great victorie and peace, bot ony slauchter of his lieges, be counsall of this guid and hollie bischop, quho did many guid actis in his tyme, both to the glorie of God and advancement of the commounweill and his countrie. So we will lat him rest with God, and returne to our purpose.

In the yeir of our Lord 1471 yeires, James the Thrid, being of the aige of twentie yeires, took to wayffe the king of Denmarkis dochter, called Margaret, and gatt with hir in tocher guid, the landis of Orkney and Zetland, with all richt title, and richt of thame, pertaining to the king of Denmark at that tyme. This marriage was solempnized in Edinburgh, the gentlvoman being bot twelff yeires of age at this tyme; the king having the realme in guid peace and rest, and the commounweill. Nevirtheles, within a schort quhill, he was brought

in great cumber, pairtlie throw his awin insolencie, and pairtlie be the conspiracie of his awin lordis and barons, as efter yea sall hear.

This prince had two brether, the eldest named Duik of Albanie and earle of Merche, etc. quho was verrie wyse and manlie, and loved nothing so weill as able men, and maid great coast and expenssis thairvpoun. For he was vonderous liberall in all thingis perteaning to his honour; and for his singular wisdome and manhood, he was estemed in all countries aboue his brother the kingis majestie: for he was so dowbted amongst the nobilitie of the realme, that they durst nevir rebell against his brother the king, so long as they war at one, for he was so hardie and wyse, that they stood more aw of him nor of his brother. This Alexander was ane mar. of more stature, broad schouldered, well proportioned in all his memberis, and speciallie in his face, when he pleased to schow himselfe to his vnfreindis. But the king his brother was different far from his qualities, for he was ane man that loved solitarines, and desired nevir to hear of warre; bot delighted more in musick and policie, and building, nor he did in the governement of his realme. Moreover, he was more diligent in conqueising money nor the heartis of his sub-

jectis, and delighted more in the playing of instrumentis nor in the defence of the borderis, and administratioun of justice, quhilk was his vreak and ruine, as efter followis. Bot we will returne to the thrid brother, [John] earle of Marre, quho was ane fair lustie man, of ane great and weill proportioned stature, weill faced, and comlie in all his behaviouris, who knew nothing bot nobilitie. He vsed meikle hunting and hawking, with other gentlmanie exercise, and delighted also in interteaning of great and stout hors and meares, that thair offspring might florisch, so that he might be served thairwith in tyme of warres. But we will returne to our purpose.

The said Alexander, Duik of Albanie, and earle of Marche, for his singular wisdom and manheid, was chosine captaine of Barvick, and lieftennent of the haill borderis, and had in his hand at that tyme the castle of Dumbar, with the living thairof, perteaning to the earl of Merch; nevirtheles, the lord Alexander Home, vther wayes called lord chamberland, had many of the saidis landis in his handis, in vptaking the maills and rentis thairof, be reason of his office givin to him in king James the Second his tyme: thairfoir, wold not suffer the tennentis thairof to answeir the Duik

of Albanie with guid will of the rentis and proffitis thair of, bot believed, be craftie meanes, to vse all his áwin pleasour. But Alexander, Duik of Albanie, being comoved with this, spaired not to ryd to the boundis and landis of the earledome of Merche, and thair tuik vp the proffitis and dewties at his awin hand: for he gott no impediment, in respect of his great comandement, being great leiftenent, and captane of Barvick, and had also the castle of Dumbare in his keeping, besydis that he had many favoureris to defend his just caus, he being second person in the realme.

The same yeir, the queine bure ane sone, called king James, the feird of that name.

Notwithstanding, the Hoomes not being content with this Alexander Duikis forsaidis proceedingis, kest all the wayis they might, to keip thamselffis in possessioun of the roumes and rentis quhilkis they war in vse of a befoir, be vptaking the rentis thair of, as chamberlane to the kingis grace. And to that effect, to fortifie thair caus, they bandit with the Hepburnes to mak thair pairt guid againes Alexander, Duik of Albanie. But thair labouris war bot in vaine, for sieing thair actioun was not guid, he prevailed [over] thame at all tymes quhair ever they mett. If he had beine

threttie for thriescoir, he wold have given thame battell, and chased thame to thair holdis. Then the Hoomes and the Hepburnes, sieing they could not prevaill againest this nobleman, devysed among thamselffis ane craftie meane quhairby they might caus his brother the kingis grace to be discontent with him : knowing weill, if they could gett the king brokin from him, they would prevaill. In this mean tyme, ane new courtiour start vp, called Cochrane, who had at that tyme great preheminance and auctoritie, and rulled the king and all actiones of the court at his pleasour, and wold have done any manes turne, war it richt or vrong, for budis and brybis. The Homes and the Hepburnes sieing this man Cochrane to have so great credence of the king, they thought no better nor to mak thair moyane with him, and give him large sowmes of money to fortifie thame, and manteane thair caus againes the Duik of Albanie, who haistilie promised to tak thair pairtes in all thingis debaillable betuixt thame and the Duik of Albanie, and his brother, the earle of Marre, for the said Cochrane confessed to thame, that he was of no lese fear of the Duik of Albanie and his brother, nor they war thamselffis, thairfoir, he wold the more easilie consent to thair

opinion, and promised, if he could find the tyme convenient, he should bring thair purpose to effect, and depairted from thame, and was in the court daylie, labouring with all ingyne to bring the king at discord with his brether. He travelled long or he could bring his purpose to pas : for the king loved his brether so weill, that he wold hear no vrong narratiōe of thame, nor gave no man credence that spak evill of thame. Quhill at the last, this Cochrane sieing that he could not break the king from his brether, he gart ane wick cum to the king, and pronunce to his grace, that he schould be suddenlie slaine be the nearest of his kine : quhairat the king was offendit, and asked at the wick how shoe sould knaw that of him : or if any man had caused hir to say so of him. Schoe answeired, shoe had the revelatioun be ane familiar spirit : and than the king begane to be astonisched, and daylie effeired, conceitling in his mynd whom it sould be : and at the last, apprehendit it sould be his awin brether that should fulfill this prophecie that the wick had spokin, becaus he had no bairnes of his awin, at that tyme, of such aige as would doe sick ane turne. Thairfoir, he concludit haillallie with himselfe, that it sould be his brether that sould doe to him

that mischiefe, and thairvpoun, he grew in suspitione and hatred, that he might on no wayes tak rest, becaus they war peirest of kin to him as the wich had spoken : but ever inquyred at the rest of his vnhappie counsalouris, who augmented him daylie in that suspitione towardis his brether. But when this suspitione, that the king had takin spread throw the countrey, and als cam to the eares of the Homes and the Hepburnes, they war heartilie weill content thairwith, trusting by that meanis to be revengit on thair enemies, the Duik of Albanie and his brother. Thairfoir, they maid thame to the court, and flattered with the king and courtiouris, schowand thair opinion of the kingis suspitione, saying, that they thought all to be of veritie, that the king had conceived in that manner towardis his brether, quhill at the last thair grew sick mortall feid within the kingis breást towardis his brether, that he could in no wayes lett thaim leive in peace, bot falselie in his awin heart condemned thame to the death, and that be the false persuasion of that fals flatterer Cochrane, quho gait great sowmes of money thairfoir. At the last, the king sent for his brether to cum to Edinburghe to him with all possible haist, for sick thingis as he had to

doe with thame. Bot the kingis purpose was to destroy thame immediatlie efter thair cuming. Notwithstanding, the Duik of Albanie was suirlye adverteised be sum of his freindis of the kingis malice towardis him to the perswasion of his enemies; and thairfor, he would not compeir for the kingis letter, but fled to his awin castle in Dumbar, quhilk he saw farder in the matter. But the earle of Marre, knowing of nothing, cam obedientlie vnto his brother, the kingis grace, quhair he was schortlie thairefter murthered in the Cannogatt in ane bath seat *, be whose persuasioun I cannot tell; and thairefter, the king cam to Dumbar to have gottin his brother the Duik into his handis; but the Duik being advertised of his cuming, fled out of the said castle, and left men to keip it, and past himselfe to Berwick, and remained thair quhill he saw fardder tyddyngis. The king hearing of his departure, sent certane noblmen to the castle of Dunbar, and desired the same to be rendrit at the kingis pleasour, to the king and his captanes, quhilk was obedientlie rendrit, and thair remained a quhyll at his pleasour, voyd of all dreadour, danger, or fear, quhilk he suspected to cum be the prophesie of this wich, and passed his tyme with his flattereris in all

* Or bath fatt

the pairtes of Scotland, thinking then thair was no man had him at invy, bot he might saillie perseveir in his pleasure.

In this meane tyme this Cochran grew so familiar with the king that nothing was done be him, and all men that would have had thair bussines exped, dressed thaimselfis to this Cochran, and maid him forspeaker for thame: and gave him large money, quhairthrow he became so rich and potent that no man might stryve with him: and he knawing the kingis conditione, that he loved him better that gave him nor he that tuik from him; for the quhilk caus the said Cochran gave the king large sowmes of money, quhairthrow he obtained the earledome of Marre from the king and was possest* in the same: and evir clame hier and hier till he thought he had no pier of ane subject in Scotland, and speciallie in the kingis favouris: for nothing was concludit in court nor counsall but by the adwyse of this Cochran; nather durst any man oppose against his proceidings, war they guid or evill: for, if they so did, he wold gar punisch thame sickerlie, for he had sick credit of the king that he gave him leive to stryk cunzie of his awin as if he had beine ane prince; and when any would refuse the said cunzie,

* Or infect.

quhilk was called ane Cochrane plack, and would say to him that it would be cryed down, he would answeir, that he should be hanged that day that his money was cryed down, quhilk prophecie cam to pas heirefter. For this Cochrane had sick auctoritie of court, and credence of the king, that no man gatt audience of the king bot be his moyane, or gave him geare, quhilk, if they did, thair materis and adoes went richt, wer thei just or vnjust, or against the commounweill, all was alyk to him, so that he might have his awin proffeit, for he abused this noble prince so, that non was receaved in court nor in offices bot such as would obey him, and be of his factioun. Sua be thir meanes the wyse lordis counsallis war refusèd, and thair sones absent from the kingis service: for no man durst cum to serve the king but he that was a flatterer with Cochrane, and counted all thingis weill done that he counsalled the king to doe. Be thir wayes the king tint many of the nobles heartis of Scotland, and of thair sones and brether, that wer young men, verrie desirous to serve the king, bot yitt they could not gett no place for this Cochrane and his companie; nor na casualties could fall to the king of Scotland bot it was disposed be the adwyse of this Cochrane, and not be the coun-

sall of the lordis of parliament, nather spirituall nor temporall. The quhilk moved the most pairt of the nobilitie to fall from the king, and sett thair intētis how to find remeid. And thairfoir sett ane convention among thaimselfis to consult how they might best mak the king to defend the realme in justice and equitie, quhairby the commounweill might flourish, and the kingis honour not diminished, and put such men about him as wer most decent for ane prince; quhairby vertew might be mainteined, and vyce punished, and that he might von the heartis of his lordis and barrones, he bringing the land to peace and rest, as his father left it to him. And vpoun this the lordis sent ane wyse man to the king, declaring to his grace that they desired him to leive young counsall and vngodlie particular flattereris, quho had no regaird of his honour, nor the proffeit of the commounweill, bot onlie respected thair awin particular proffeit: and that his grace would put all fear and suspitioun out of his mynd, quhilk he had of his nobles, and that he would tak the counsall of his wyse lordis, how he sould ruell himself in the government of his realme, and in the administratioun of justice, and defence of his enemies, and maintaining

of the commounweill; and, if his grace wold vse thair counsall in this maner, they wold leive and die with him in defence of his honour and kingdome, and, if he wold not inclynie to thair counsall, they tuik God to witnes they should be guiltles of all misgovernment of the realme, and chainge thair of should ly vpoun him both befor God and man, and they sould be declaired innocent if any mischeife cam in the countrie. The king answered and said, he had no counsall in the government of countrie and commounweill bot lordis counsallis as they war, and pleased him for the tyme, and wold latt thame to vnderstand, becaus he could sie no better for him for the tyme, that he wold put no man out of his companie that was in it, for thair pleasures; and beleived weill, that they war both traist and trew that was in his companie and served him. Yitt, notwithstanding, when all the lordis war togidder, and concludit all in ane voyce, he would not be content to vse thair counsallis in all thingis, and speciallie in the defence of the realme and liberties thair of. The lordis hearing this answeir of the king, was not halflingis content with the samyne: bot they bure fair quhill they saw thair tyme, knowing they could doe no fardder in this

matter quhil they war at the feildis in camped battell. To that effect sum of thame caused the borderis to be brokin, and other sum lay still, and could mak no defence,* quhairthrow cam reiff and hirschip in the countrey, and great slauchter made betuixt Scotland and Ingland, quhairthrow the landis war so waisted be Ingland, and be the theives of Annerdaill, that all the landis war waisted evin to Edinburghe. When thir lamentatiounes and cryes of the poore cam befor the king, he was heavilie commoved, and caused mak proclamationes through all the realme, to all and sundrie his leiges, earles, lordis, and barrones, and substantious gentlemen: yea, and all men betuixt sixtie and sixteine, to compeir and assemble vpoun the Borrowmure of Edinburgh, in thair best array, with fourtie dayes victuallis, to pas forward with the king quhair he pleased in defence of the realme.

The Inglismen hearing of thir proclamationes, maid great provisioun for the same, thinkand that they wold defend thameslffis, and thair borderis, contrair the Scottis. Att this tyme they had to thair chiftane and leiftennent, the duik of Glocester, who then was great leivtennent and principall counsellour to Edward the new king. Nevirtheles, the Scottis

cam. pearthie fordward to the place appoynted, to witt the Borrowmoore, to the number of 50,000 men, by carriage men and borderrers. The king tuik certane artillerie with him out of the castle of Edinburgh, and maid Coch-rane earle of Marre convoyar of the same, and past fordward to Sowtrie the first night, and on the morne to Lather, and thair stented thair paviliones betuixt the kirk and the toun, and thair abod that night, quhill on the morne: then as the lordis of Scotland conveyined in the kirk of Lather, to consult quhat was best to be done for the weillfair of the realme, and defence of the borderis, or if thei schould pas with the king at his pleasour, at that tyme or not. Some wyse and ancient lordis said he was not thair king, nor guyled be thame, nor by thair counsall, bōt maid vp fallowis mais-sones to be lordis and earles, in the place of noblmen: that is to say, he had banished the duik of Albanie, his brother, and had for-falt and slaine the earle of Marre his vther brother, and liad maid Coch-rane, quho was bot ane maissoun, to fulfill his place; quhair-of they could not be content, till they had sick thingis reformed. Vpoun this, they cheised certaine lordis, to the number of twentie-four, that is to say, the earle of Angus, principall

of the counsall, the lord Evandaill, chancelour for the tyme, the earles Huntlie, Argyle, Orkney, Crawford, and Bothwell, the lordis Hoome, Gray, Drummond, and Seatoun, with certane bischopes: Quho, quhan they had adwysed ryplie in the caus, they concludit that the king sould be taine soflie, bot harme of his bodie, and convoyed to the castle of Edinburgh, with certane gentlmen; and thair to remaine quhill they war farder adwysed, and in this mean tyme, to tak Cochrane earle of Marre, and the rest of the kingis familiaris, and immediatlie to hing them over the bridge of Lather. Be this was spokin and adwysed, the earle of Marre cam from the king to the counsall, quhilk counsall was holdin in the kirk of Lather for the tyme, who was weill accompanied with ane band of men of weir, to the number of thrie hunder light axes, all cled in quhyt luferay, in blak bendis, that they might be knawin for Cochrane the earle of Marre his men. Himselff was clad in ane ryding py of blak velvett, with ane great chaine of gold about his neck, to the value of fyve hundreth crouns; and ane faire blowing horne, in ane reckle of gold borne and tipped with fyne gold, at both the endis, and ane precious stone called ane buriall hanging at

the midis thair of. This Cochrane had his hewmont borne befor him, all overgilt with gold, and sua was all the rest of his harness: and his pavillione was of fyne canvas of silk, and the cordis thair of fyne twyned silk. This Cochrane was so proud in his awin conceitt, that he thought no lord his companione, thairfor he rusched rudlie at the kirk doore: The counsall askeit who it was that perturbed thame for the tyme. Sir Robert Douglas, laird of Lochlevin, was keiper of the kirk doore, and inquiryed who it was that knoked so rudlie: and Cochrane answeired and said, it is the earle of Marre; quhilk newis pleased weill the counsall; becaus they war readie to tak him. Then the earle of Angus passed haistilie to the kirk doore, and with him Sir Robert Douglas of Lochlevin, to receive in the earle of Mare, and so manie of his complices as wer thair: and then the earle of Angus mett the earle of Marre as he cam in at the kirk doore, and pulled the goldin chaine from his neck; and said to him, "a rop wold sett him better;" Sir Robert Douglas sieing this, pulled the blowing horne from him, and said to him, "he had beine over long ane hunter of mischeife." Than Cochrane, said, "My lordis is it mowis or earnest?" They answeired, and

said, he sould find it for earnest, “ for thou and thy complices hes abused our prince this long tyme, of quhom thou schalt have no more credit, bot sall have thy reward according to thy deservingis in tymes bygane: and richt so the rest of thy fellowis.” Notwithstanding the lordis held him quyet quhill they caused certane armed men pas to the kingis pavilioun, and tuo or thrie wyse men with thame, and gave the king fair and pleasant wordis, till they had laid handis on all his servandis, and tuik thame and hanged thame over the bridge of Lather befoir the kingis eyes; and brought in the king himselff to the counsall. Thairefter, incontinent the brought out Cochrane, and his handis bound with ane tow, behind his back, who desired thame to tak ane of his awin pavillion towis, quhilk war of silk, and bind his handis, for he thought shame to be bund with ane hemp tow lyk ane theife; the lordis answered and said, “ He was wors than a theife, he was ane tratour, and deserved no better :” and for desphight they tuik ane hair tadder and hanged him over the bridge of Lather, aboue his complices, and immediatlie maid ane proclamatioun, and cryed down his cunzie, quhilk fulfilled his awin prophesie, that it might be ane example to all meine persons,

not to climb so hie, and intend for high materis in court as he did ; for at his begining he was but ane prenteis to ane maissoun, and became verrie ingenious in that craft, and biggit many stone houssis with his handis in the realme of Scotland, becaus he was cunning in that craft. Not long efter, the king maid him his maister maissoun, and evir he clame so high, till he clame to his end, as is rehearsit. The king was tane captive himselff, and led to the castle of Edinburgh, be the convoy of certane gentlmen, and non escaped that was in his companie, I meane his secreit cubicularis and servandis ; but wer all hanged, except ane young man called Sir Johne Ramsay, was saiffed be the kingis requeist, who for to saiff his lyffe, lap vpoun the hors behind the king. This Sir Johne Ramsay was laird of Bowman, and efter theasurer of Scotland. This act was done in the moneth of August 1481 yeires.

Efter this, ane lang tyme, the king remained in the castle of Edinburghe, as captive, and had certaine lordis in companie with him, that took hold on him and keiped him in the said castle, and served him and honoured him as ane prince aucht to be in all thingis ; for he was not put thair as ane prisoner, but for the

mainteining of the commounweill ; gave him leive to vse all his directiones, giftis and casualties at his pleasour, for nothing was derogat from him be reasoun of his auctoritie, and all lettres war given and proclamatiounes maid in his name, lyk as they war befoir at his in-putting, nor no regent, nor governour, was chosin at that tyme, bot everie lord within his awin boundis was sworne to minister justice, and to punisch thift and slauchter within thamsellfis, or elis to bring the doeris of the same to the kingis justice at Edinburgh, and thair to be punished or answer for the crymes thamsellfis, and to be holdin doeris of the same. Thus, thair was peace and rest in the countrie the space of thrie quarteris of an yeir. Quhill at the last the king wold have beine out of the castle at his awin libertie, bot he could not obtaine his purpose, except he wold have bund himself to the lordis counsallis, that war his inputteris, and give thame some pledges for the mair securitie of his promise, quhilk he wold onawayes doe. Sum that was secreit servandis to him, gave him counsall to speak with the earle Douglas, who was captive in the castle of Edinburgh at that tyme, and to tak him in his favouris, and to remitt all byganes, and to restore him to his landis, who

was ane long tyme befor forfalt; schewing if the king would doe this, the earle Douglas was able to fortifie and defend him, and to bring him to his purpose. The king was verrie glad of this, and desired verrie effectuously to speak with the earle Douglas, who was brought to him incontinent, to intercommon vpoun the said matter. The earle Douglas, on the vther pairt, was so high and presumptuous in his owin mynd, that he gave the king no dew reverence as he ought to have done, bot high and presumptuous wordis, quhilk became him not to give his prince at that tyme, considdering he was captive, and vnder subjectione. Thairfoir the king thought him so proud in his answeiris, and commoning, that they pairted, wors freindis than they mett, and then the king awowed, that he schould nevir be relaxit out of the castle of Edinburgh, if he might keip him in it, for by his proud speiking he was likelier to be ane king than he. For the king feared him as meikle as any of the rest, if he had beine at libertie; so he left him in this maner, and commoned no more with him: and schew thame that gave him the counsall the wholl matter, who war verrie discontent at the same; bot sum of thame gave him counsall to wrytt a letter to

his brother, the duke of Albanie, and caus him pas to king Edward the new king, and ask support of him and his counsall, quhairby he might be relaxed out of the castle of Edinburgh, and to be revengit on his inputteris; promissand if any sick thingis occurred in Ingland to king Edward, he sould be readie with all his power to his support. Thir lettres war direct immediatlie to the duik of Albanie, his brother, who was then in Bervick, and receaved the lettres verrie thankfullie, requyring of the king and counsall of Ingland the said support, as the letters maid mentioun thair of. The king and counsall of Ingland having adwysed thairvpoun, denyed any support to be given to the king of Scotland, without they knew quhairfoir; becausthey had chairged him for support sundry times, and gatt non. Yitt notwithstanding, would the king of Scotland be content to render Bervick againe, they would grant him sick support as would relax him. The duik of Albanie answeired and said, he had no such commissioun in that matter; bot promised he schould schew the king of Inglandis desir to his brother, and bring him ane answeir schortlie. Efter this the duik of Albanie wreatt ane lettre to the king of Scotland his brother, schowand to him

the will and answeir of the king of Ingland, and counsall of Ingland; to wit, he desired the toun of Bervick to be rendrit againe within yeir and day in Inglismentis handis, and if the king of Scotland would promise this to be done within the space forsaid, and sette his great seal thairvpoun, they would incontinent grant all his desires, that is to say, to deliver him ffrie at libertie, and mak him to have power to punisch quhom he will that had transgressed againes [him], provyding alwayes that the king of Scotland wold delyver vnto thame certane pledges, quhill the said toun war delyvered. This answeir pleased weill the king of Scotland, saying, if all Ingland war his, he had rather render it, nor be holdin in captivitie and thraldome be his awin. And to this effect, he writt his commissioun vnder his great seall, to his brother the duik of Albanie, to grant thair desires, and to promise the same to the counsall of Ingland, and sent four lordis sones in pledgis for the same.

The duik of Albanie receaved the kingis commissioun and pledgis, and thairefter past to London, to the king of Ingland and counsall thairof, and schew him the maner how he had sped, and promised to the king that all his desires schould be granted, and schew him

the king of Scotlandis commissioun vnder his great seall, and delyvered the pleidgis for keeping of his promise. Vpoun the quhilk the king of England was verrie weill content, and receaved the pledgis verrie thankfullie, and interteaned thame verrie weill, and incontinent caused the duik of Gloucester, his great lieftennent, pas in Scotland with the duik of Albanie, and the number of ten thousand men, the best in all England, was provydit, and comandit the duik of Glocester to pas with the duik of Albanie in Scotland, or quhairevir he pleased, in defence and support of the king of Scotland, and promiseid that they sould want nothing, nather furnishing nor expensis, ay and quhill the king of Scotland war put to libertie, and revenged vpoun his enemies. And incontinent thairefter thir noblemen cam in Scotland the tuentie tua day of the moneth of August anno 1482 yeires, and planted thair paviliones vpoun the Borrowmoore of Edinburghe, and thair maid provisione for thair armieis, lyk tuo noble chieftanes. Then the wholl noblmen of Scotland, knowing the caus of their cuming, and quhat the king of Scotland had offered, drew themselffis togidder to ane counsall, and soone thairefter compeired the duik of Albanie and the duik of Glocester

within the toun of Edinburgh, with the number of ane thousand gentlmen, and entred within the tolbuith thairof, befor the lordis of Scotland, quho war sittand at ane counsall at that time, and thair verrie revrentlie saluted the duik of Albanie, reverenced him, and velcomed him home, and requyred of him what was his petitione. He answered, " I desir the kingis grace, my brother, to be put to libertie, quhilk was granted to him incontinent." Bot the chancellor answeired and said, " My lord, we will grant you your desires : bot as to that man who is with yow, we knaw him not, nor yitt will we grant nothing to his desir. But we knaw your lordschip to be the kingis brother, and excepting the kingis sone, the second persone in Scotland, and ane favourer of justice, and the commounweill. Thairfoir the kingis grace salbe at your will, to vse him as yea think guid : beseiching yow thairfoir to caus him vse wyse and honest counsall in tyme cuming, who regairdis his honour and weill of the countrie. This being done, I trust the king salbe out of suspitione of his subjectis, quhilk hes beine troublous in tymes by gane, and caused vs quho war his lordis to doe the thing quhilk was not to his contentment ; becaus he would not vse our counsallis, bot used

all thingis at his awin pleasour, and those quho war his familiaris for the tyme, who was not worthie to have beine with ane king, nor to have given him counsall, bot rather to have holdin the pleugh, or to have keipit scheipe. Thairfor I pray God your Lordschip may have honour of your labouris, quhilk yea have maid at this tyme, for his delyverance."

Thus, when the chancellour had endit his oratioune, the duik of Albanie and the duik of Glocester departed from the counsall towardis the castle to receive the king; and heraldes of armes war commandit to pas with thame, to chairge the captanes to mak the gaittes opin and to delyver the king. So the king cam furth of the castle to the duik of Albanie his brother, and rod down to the Abbey of Halliruidhous, and the duik of Albanie his brother behind him, both on ane hors, quhair they remained ane long tyme in great mirrines, quhill all the lordis cam down and maid thair dew obedience to the king, be the duik of Albanies adwyse. Thairefter the king past to Stirling, and throw many pairtes of Scotland, accompanied with the duik of Albanie and the duik of Glocester: and with the duik of Glocester tua thousand horsmen and fyve hundreth footmen, vpoun the king

of Inglandis expenssis, and send home the rest of his armie to Ingland againe, and remained himselff the space of ane yeir, with the number foirsaidis, with the king of Scotland.

In this meane tyme the kyng pat certane lordis in the castle of Edinburghe, quho war, for the most pairt, counsallouris of his inputting, to the number of sixteine: to witt, the earle of Bothwell, the lord Home, the lord Evandaill, chancellour for the tyme; the lord Gray, the lord Drummond, the lord Eglington, the lord Fleming, the lord Seatoun, the lord Maxwell, with sundrie great barrones, whom the king was adwysed, for the tyme, to have justified all, war not the counsall of the duik of Albanie his brother and the earle of Angus, quho than was familiar with the king, to saiff the lordis injustified in the tyme of the kingis furie.

Efter this ane long tyme thair was peace and rest in the realme, and that throw the court and counsall of the duik of Albanie, quho soone thairefter married the earle of Orkneyis dochter, and begat vpoun hir ane sone, called Alexander, who was thairefter bischope of Murray, but not long efter he pairted with hir, and past in France, and was married vpoun the duches of Bulloigne. But this Alexander,

duik of Albanie, had the great indignatioun of many of the nobles in Scotland, for fortifying and manteining the king in his privat affaires, and gave him the wytt that so many lordis wer in captivitie at that tyme, and for rendring of Bervick, according to the kings promise, who gave him commissioun to render the same for his releive. And the lordis could not be content thairwith, bot alledgit it to be treasone : and wer verrie desirous to have had sum cryme to accuse the duik of Albanie, and to have put aue new suspitione betuixt him and his brother, the king, thinking weill the could onawayes gett thair will of the king except they had his brother cut off. And for that effect they caused certane flattereris and evill speakers schow the king that the duik of Albanie intendit to have the croun, for he was licklier to be king nor the king himselfe as he proceidit ; for he disposed all thingis pertaining to the libertie of the croun : and caused the king to vnderstand, that he would fulfil the prophecie of the wich who prophicied to the king that the nearest of his kine schould destroy him. Thir wordis, and siclyk vther fainyied taillis, maid the king so effeired of the duik of Albanie, that he could have beine content to have beine quyt

of him, notwithstanding of all the travellis he had maid for the kingis weill, and for the delyverring of him out of captivitie. All his guid service was forgett with this flattrie, and the fear that the king tuik of him be the perswasione of wicked counsallouris, caused him to summond his brother befor the counsall, for sick poyntis of treasone as efter followis. That is to say : for rendring the toun of Bervick in Inglismentis handis, but counsall or commissioun of the lordis of Scotland. Sua the duik of Albanie compeired perthe befor the king and counsall, and produced the kingis commissioun, vnder his great seall, to render the same, to the effect that support might cum to the king for his delyverance. Bot the lordis alleadged that commissioun was of no effect at that tyme, becaus he was in captivitie, and did the same by * the advyce of the lordis and counsall. Quhairfor the lordis of counsall for the tyme convicted the said duik, and send him to the castle to be imprisoned.

In this meane tyme the earle of Angus gatt the haill lordis that was in waird releived, vpoun cautoun to enter againe when the king pleased, vnder the paine of ten thousand

* Without.

poundis ilk man, etc. Soone efter this they counsalled the king to justifie his brother, the duik of Albanie, thinkand, if they war quytt of him they should doe with the king quhat they pleased. For they stod in sick aw of the duik that they durst nevir medle with the king, nor put handis in him, he being alyve. Quhairfor thir conspiratouris insistit and war verrie desirous to have this noble and famous man put to death, and continewed in this vngodlie and vnleisum sute, quhill it was knawin in France be sick as favoured the duik of Albanie: and thairfor thair came ane French schip out of France hastilie in Scotland, with secret wryttingis to the duik of Albanie, quho was than in prisone in the Castle of Edinburth, to adverteise him that it was concludit be the king and counsall that he should be justified vpoun a certane day, quhilk was the day efter the schip cam to the toun of Leith besyd Newheavin, and gave hir selff furth as ane passinger with wyne. Quhen he had hard of thir newis he desired leive of the captane to send for tuo bottelles of wyne, who gave him leive glaidlie, and provydit the bossis himselff: and than the duik of Albanie sent ane of his familiar servantis to the Frenchmen, and desired him to bring him of the fynest and

and starkest wyne, quho was obeyed thankfullie, and send him tuo basis of Malvesie ; and in the one end of the botle put ane row of wax, quhairin was inclosed ane secreit wrytting, quhilk schew the duik of Albanie sick newis as he was not content thairwith : and in the other boss thair was ane long tow to support him in his neid. So the messinger haisted him back to the castle, and schew his maister certane thingis be tongue, quhilk the Frenchman had told him, and that night the duik called the captane to supper, and promised him ane drink of guid wyne. So the captane cam to him glaidlie, and souped with him. The duik gave his chamber chyld command that he sould drink no wyne that night, bot hold himselff temperat, for he knew not quhat he wold have to doe, and if thair arose any dissentioun betuixt him and the captane, he prayed him to stand be him, as he schould be ane guid maister to him thairefter. Quhen the supper was done, the captane passed to the kingis chamber to sie quhat was doring, who was then ludged in the castle : and when he had visited all, he caused tham close the yattes and sett the watchmen ; and thairefter cam to the duikis chamber to the collatioun. And efter they had drunkin thair collatioun,

and all men in thair bedis, the duik and the captane past to the tables and played for the wyne. The fire was hett and the wyne was strong, and the captane and his men became mirrie, quhill at the last, the duik perceaved his tyme, and saw thame mirrie, and maid ane signe to his chamber chyld to be readie as he had instructed him, for the duik was fullie resolved aither to doe or to die: for he was suirly informed be the French schip that he was to be headed on the morne. So he thought best to preveine the tyme, and lap from the boord and strak the captane with ane whinger and slew him, and also stiked other tuo with his awin hand: And in the meane tyme his chamber chyld was werrie busie; and sua they tuo overthrew fyve: that is, the captane and four of his men: and when they had done, kest tham in the fyre; and efterwardis tuik out thair towes and passed to the wall head, at ane quyet place, quhair the watchmen might have no sight of thame, and than streched thair cordis' over the wall head, and the chamber boy passed first: bot the towis was schort, and he fell and brak his thigh bone. Then he cryed to his maister to mak the tow longer, for he was gone. Then the duik reave the scheittis aff his bed, and lenthned

the tow, and passed saiflie himselff: and when he was cum doun and perceaved his servant in poynt of dead, he tuik him vpoun his back and carried him away als fare as he might, and left him in ane quyet place, quhair he trowed he might be saife, and syne went to the Newheavin besyd Leith, and maid him ane signe to the schip, who sent ane boatt to the land and receaved him in. Bot no man knew whidder his servant went with him or not: bot suirle manie gentlmen of Scotland wisched thamselffis to have beine with him, and, amongst the rest, Sir Alexander Jairdine of Aplegirth, knyght, passed with him, and sundrie other gentlemen.

Bot on the morne, whan the wachmen perceaved that the towis war hinging over the wallis, then rane they to seik the captane to schew him the matter and maner, bot he was not in his awin chamber. Then they passed to the duikis chamber and fund the doore opin, and ane dead man lying in the chamber doore, and the captane and the rest burning in the fyre, quhilk was verrie dollorous to thame; and when they mised the duik of Albanie and his chamber chyld, they rane speidilie and schew the king how the matter had happened. Bot he wold not give it credence till he past

himself and saw the matter. Then he considered the whole caus how it stood, and caused the yattes to be holdin close, that no word should pas to the toun, quhill he had searched all the place, to sie quhidder the duik of Albanie war within or not. Bot when he could not find him, he caused horsmen to be sent furth in all pairtes, to sie if they could apprehend him in ony place, and bring him to him againe, and they should have great rewardis thairfoir. Bot yitt they could gett no kynd of tryall of him, quhill at the last, thair cam ane man out of Leith, and schew the king that thair cam ane boat from the French schip, and tuik in certane men, and thairefter pulled vp hir saillis, and travisched up and down the Firth, quhom they judged to be the duik of Albanie, as it was trew; for he past to France incontinent, and gatt in mariage the duchess of Bolloigne, and begatt vpoun hir Sir John Stewart, who was after him duik of Albanie, and governour of Scotland.

Bot we will returne to our purpose and historie, how the wholl lordis. at the hour of nyne, cam to the king to the castle, to sie quhat ordour schould be takin with the executioun of his brother the duik of Albanie, and to sie in quhat place he schould be headed: and when

they knew the matter how it stood, thair was sum of them verrie sorie, thinking weill that he should not fail to quyt thaim comoun if he lived : bot other sum war heartilie weill content, and rejoysed of his guid event, knowing that he was innocent, and thought that they wold hear better tydingis of him ane other day. Notwithstanding, the king himselff was affeired and commoved; pairtie throw the slauchter of the captane, and als he had evir in remembrance the saying of the wich, thinking he could nevir be satisfied in his mynd, quhill he had his brother put to dead a befoir. But fra tyme he was suirle adverteised that his brother was so intertained in France, be the king and counsall thairof, and had gottin the duches of Buloigne in marriage, in that respect, he conjectured that he wold not cum againe in Scotland haistilie; becaus he was both forfalt, and had brokin his waird. Yitt nevirtheles the lordis tuik evir a great feare of his returning, and durst nevir execut thair intents till they knew that he was dead.

And in this meane tyme, the king past throw all Scotland at his pleaur, in peace and rest.

And in the meane tyme, thair was warres in Ingland, betwixt the duik of York, wha vsurped the croun and kingdome of Hendrie the

Sixt, the said Hendrie being in prisone for the tyme ; and the duik of Clarence, with certane other noblemen, past to Normandie at that tyme, to remaine thair with the duik his guid brother, quhill he saw farder. We leive the affairs of England, and returne yitt againe to our historie.

King James the Thrid being at guid peace and rest, as I have showin yow befor, he went to Stirling, and remained thair the most pairt of the yeir, quhair he tuik sick pleasur to dwell thair, that he left all other castles and tounes in Scotland, and for that caus, he foundit ane colledge within the said castle, callit the chappell royall, and also he buildit the great hall of Stirling. Also he maid in the said chappell royall, all kynd of office men, to wit, the bischope of Galloway, the deane, and the archdeane, thesaurer, subdeane, chanter, and subchanter, with all kind of other officieris, perteaning ane colledge; and also doubled thaim for that effect, that the on half schould evir be readie to pas with him, to sing and play with him, and hold him mirrie : the other halfe to remaine at home, to sing and play for him and his successioun, and for this caus maid great fundatioun in the said chappell royall. And in the meane tyme the be-

nifice of Coldinghame waiked, and the king thought to have given it to the chappell royall, but the Homes was not content thairwith, and in speciall Hoome of Falscastell, who had many steidings of the priorie of Coldinghame in his handis for the tyme, beleiving to gett the same in sett or feu afterwardis. He caused the Hoomes evir intend to gett ane pryour in that rowme of thair awin name, quhairthrow they thought the king thair enemye, becaus he intendit to mell with any thing they had, and speciallie the pryorie of Coldinghame. And for this caus the Hoomes and Hepburnes, with certane lordis and barrones of the countrie, and speciallie the lordis that war put in the castle befor be the king, for the conspiracie of Lather bridge, assembled togidder to ane conventioun and counsall againes the king, and banded thamselffis togidder, that they thought they schould be pairtie to the king quhairvir he laid ony thing to their charge.

The king hearing of thir newis, sent ane herald to the forsáidis lordis and thair cautioneris, chairging them to vnderly the law within fourtie dayes, for sick thingis as he had to lay to thair charge. Bot the herald was evill intreated in the executioun of the sum-

mondis, for his lettres were revin. Att the quhilk the king took so great displeasure, for he knew thair was no remeid, bot rebelloun. For the quhilk caus the king past to Stirling, and garnished the same with men and victuallis, and maid ane . . . Schaw, laird of Fintrie, captane of the same, and delyvered him James, his eldest sone in keiping, and comandit him straitlie, as he loved his honour and his lyffe, that he wold permitt no man to enter the said castle, nather great nor small, till he returned; nor yitt latt his sone pas out of the said castle to no game, nor to meitt with no man, bot to keip him straitlie in the castle quhill his returning.

This being done, the king returned to the castle of Edinburgh, and furnished the same in lyk manner, and pat his haill pois of gold and silver in the said castle, and desired the captane thair of to keip and wach the same wyslie, and schew him that he was to ryd to the Northland among his lordis, and thair to seik counsall and support of thame, against this new rebelloun. Sua the morne efter he passed to Leith, and schiped in ane schip of captane Woodes, who was bound to Flanderis for the tyme. Sum of the conspiratouris, who hard tell of the kingis dyett, followed fast to

Leith efter him, and thought to have gottin him, bott they missed him. Yitt they gott pairt of his cofferis with money and cloathing: and they beleived suirlie, becaus the king was embarked in ane schip of Captane Woodis, quhilk was bound to Flanderis, that he was passand thair himselfe, and that caused thaim to tak the lese fear, and be the more hardie in spoylling of his servandis. Bot he caused the said captane land in Fyffe, and than rod through the same to his northland lordis, that favored him and wold tak his pairt. Bot yitt or he past, he left word behind him to the sche-riffe of Stratherne, Fyffe, and Angus, to mak proclamatiounes out through the said schyres, to all maner of men betuixt sixtie and sixteine, spirituall and temporall, as weill burgh as land, that they schould be in readines at ane certane day to pas with the king quhair he pleased, to dantoun his conspiratouris. Thir new rebellis kest all the meanis and craftie wayes they might, to mak thamselffis als able against the king and all that wold tak his pairt, thinking weill, they schould aither fight with the king and give him battell, or els caus him to flie out of Scotland. And yitt becaus thair title was not guid, they durst not attempt the same, becaus they knew the king to be

weill loved of the commones and borrowis, and specialle of the ancient and aiged worthie barrones of the cuntrie, who best knew quhat danger it was to rebell against ane crowned king. Thir newis was ane great hinder to thir conspiratouris, to put hand in thair king or prince. Bot yitt the eldest of thame, to witt, the earle of Angus, the lord Evandail, the earle Bothwall, the lord Home, with divers vtheris, concludit not to mell with the king without they had the prince his sone in thair hands and to this purpose they concludit, and fand ane craftie moyane, that is, they sent ane quyett messinger to the captane of Stirling, and desired him affectuouselie to cum and speak with thame, for his awin weill, who was verrie loath to cum, bot yitt at the last they maid him so fair promiseis, and gave him sick giftis of gold and silver, that he was finallie corrupted, and granted to all petitiones they wold desir of him, to witt, that he schould delyver the prince into their handis, and keip the castle still in the prinoe's name and thaires, and that he schould receave the king nor none of his within the castle in tymcuming. So immediatlíe after they had given him great sowmes of money, he delyvered the prince unto thame, who passed with him to Linlithgow;

and thair maid proclamatiounes to all manner of men, that wold cum and defend the prince : becaus, as thei alleadged, that the king had suspitioun of his sone, and at thame, lykas he had at his brother befoir, and was cuming with ane great armie to tak him and put him in prisone. Thairfoir they desired all men that favoured the commounweill, to cum and defend the prince, and also they fied waigeouris and men of warre with the kingis awin money, which they spoyllid, to pas with thame : and passed all fordward with the prince against the king incuming, quho knew nothing of the treason wrought be the captane of the castle of Stirling, nor yitt of the delyverance of his sone, bot peirtlie cam forward with the north of Scotland, that is to say, Ros, Sutherland, Caithnes, Buchan, Marre, Meirnes, Angus, Gowrie, Fyfe, Stratherne, Stirling'schyre, Atholl, and Argyle, with some of the lordis of the wastland that followed him. For thair was none in thir forsaide schyres, bot all tuik pairt with him, both gentlmen and commones, except the Lord Gray allanerlie in Angus, and the Lord Drummond in Stratherne, who was with the other pairtie againes the king. Notwithstanding the king cam to St Johnstoun, and thair warn-

ed all the commounes and gentlemen of Fyfe to meitt him, both on horse and fute, quho cam verrie obedientlie to the king, and with thame in companie lord David Lindsay of the Byres, as captane and liefetenent to thame at the kingis command; for he had beine long in France, and weill practised in warres, quhairfoir the king thought it meittest at that tyme to give him the chairge, becaus he knew him to be both hardie and trew to his grace, sundrie times befoir, when he had to doe; thairfoir lord David Lindsay mett him att Sanct Johnstoun, with ane thousand horsmen, and thrie thousand futmen, all readie to wair thair lyves with him in his defence. The same lord David Lindsay, being ryding vpoun ane great gray curseour, he lighted down and maid his obedience to the king, and thairefter presented the said curseour to his grace, assuring the king that if he had to doe in extremitie, either to flie or follow, that that hors wold ware all the hors in Scotland at his pleasour, if he wold sit weill; so the king accepted of the hors, and thanked him glaidlie. Alexander Lord Ruthven, schirreff of Stratherne, broucht to him ane brave companie, to witt, ane thousand gentlemen, weill horsed, ane thousand bowmen, and ane thousand with halfang swordis, and ha-

berschones, quhilkis all, with diverss vtheris highland men, passed all with the schirreff and mett the king att Stirling, to the number of thirtie thousand men. Thairefter incontinent the king passed to the castle, and desired to be in, bot the captane refused him entres, and then the king desired to speak with his sone, quhilk also the captane refused, and said he wold not speak with him at that tyme. Yitt the king inqyred of him gentlie quhair his son was; who answered, and said, that the lordis had takin him from him againes his will. Then the king said, "False tratour, thou hes deceived me: I wou to God, and I leive, I salbe revengit vpoun the, and reward the as thou hes deserved." Thairefter the king passed to the toun, and watched all night, and caused ane strong wach of his armie stand about the toun all night, till on the morne that the day brak. Then the king rose with his counsall and lordis, that war with him, and passed forward in arrayed battle to the Torwood, and thair stayed, till moe cam to him. And siclyk the kingis enemies, on the other syd, cam peirtlie fordward to the water of Carroun, aboue the bridge thair of, to the number of twelff thousand men, all-monted on horsback. And on the morne, thair cam wyse

men on everie syd to treat peace betuixt thame. Bot the king, sieing he was so great of power againes his enemies, he wold on no wayes bot fordward to be revengit on tham that had risen and rebelled againes him. Then he arrayed his battell, and maid forwardis to the feildis, and put his men in ordour, as efter followes: that is to say, ten thousand highland men in the vangaird, the earle of Huntlie and the earle of Atholl, leaderis of the said hoast; then in the reirgaird vther ten thousand wastland men, and Stirlingshire men, and thair leaderis war my lord Erskine, the lord Grahame and Monteith. The king himselff was in the great steall with all the borrowis and commones of Scotland, and on the on wing on his right hand, passed Dauid earle of Crawford, and lord David Lindsay of the Byres, and with thame tuo thousand horsmen, and sax thousand futmen of Fyfe and Angus. And on his left hand passed Alexander Lord Ruthvene, with all Stratherne and Stormond, to the number of fyve thousand men.

Thus the king, being in ordour and passand fordward in arrayed batle, word cam to him that his enemies war in sicht. Then the king cryed for his hors, quhilk my lord Lindsay had givin him, and raid to ane hill head to sie the

manner of thair cuming. Then he save thame in thrie battellis, to the number of six thousand men in everie battell; the Hoomes and Hepburnes having the vangaird; and with thame in companie, Mers, Tividaill, and east Lothiane, and nixt tham Liddisdaill and Annerdaill, with manie of Galloway. And syne cam the wholl lordis that conspired against the king, and brought with tham the prince, to be thair buckler and saistie, and haisted fordward with great courage, becaus they knew the kingis facilitie, that he was nather hardie nor constant in battell. So the king, sieing his awin enemies to cum with his awin banner displayed, and his sone against him, he remembrit the wordis which the wich had spokin to him manie dayes befoir, that he should be suddenlie destroyed and put down be the nearest of his kine: quhilk he suspected than appearandlie to cum to pas, and be the wordis of the forsaidd wich, illusioun, and intysment of the devill, he tuik sick ane vaine suspitioun in his awin mynd, that he tuik haistilie purpose to flie. In the meane tyme, the lordis sieing the king to tyne courage, desired him to pas by the hoast till they had foughtin the battell. Be this the Hoomes and Hepburnes cam so fast vpoun the kingis van-

gaird, and on the other syd they schott so many and so thik flightis of arrowis at that tyme, that they hurt and slew manie of thair hors, and put thame back. Bot at the last the theives of Annerdhill cam in, schouting and crying, and feared the king so, that he tuik purpose and raid his way, and thought to have win the toun of Stirling: bot he spurred his hors at the flight speid. Cuming throw the toun of Bannockburne, ane voman perceived ane man cuming fast vpoun hors, shoe being carrieing in watter, cam fast away and left the pig behind her; so the kingis hors lap the burne and slak of friewill, quhairfra the voman cam. The king being evill sittin, fell aff his hors befor the mylne doore of Bannockburne, and so was bruised with the fall, being heavie in armour, that he fell in ane deadlie sowne: And the miller and his wayff harled him in to the mylne, and not knowing quhat he was, kest him vp in ane nuik, and covered him with ane cloath; quhill at the last the kingis hoast, knawing that he was fled, debaitted thamselffis manfuillie, and knawing that they war bordereris and theivis that delt with thame, thairfoir they had the moir courage to defend thamselffis. Nevirtheles they reteired and fled in guid ordour quhill they

came to the Torwood, and thair debaitted long tyme till the night came, and fled away als quyettlie as they might, and pairt past to Stirling. Bot thair enemies, on the other syd, followed thame verrie scharplie, so that thair was many takin, hurt, and slaine of thame. And be the kingis enemies war reteiring back, the king himselff overcame lying in the mylne, and cryed, if thair was ane preist to mak his confessioun. The myller and his wayff heir- ing thir wordis, inquiryed of him quhat man he was, and what was his name. He hap- pened to say, unhappilie, "This day at morne I was your king." Than the milleris wayff clap- ped hir handis, and ran furth and cryed for ane preist. In this meane tyme ane preist was cuming. by; sum says he was my lord Grayes servand; quho answeired and said, "heir am I-ane preist, quhair is the king?" Then the milleris wayff tuik the preist by the hand, and led him in at the mylne doore, and how soone the said preist saw the king, he knew him incontinent, and kneilled down on his knies, and speired at the kingis grace if he might live if he had guid leichment: he an- sweired him he trowed he might, bot he wold have had a preist to tak his adwyce, and to give him his sacrament. The priest answeir-

ed, that sall I doe haistilie,—and pulled out ane whinger, and strak him four or fyve tymes evin to the heart, and syne gatt him on his back and had him away. Bot no man knew quhat he did with him, nor quhair he buried him. Nor no tryall of the king was gottin ane moneth thairefter. Notwithstanding, the battellis war dissevered, as I have schowin befoir, the kingis battell fled to Stirling that night, and the other pairtie to thair tentis: and on the morne cam to Linlithgow. I cannot hear of any man of reputatioun that was slaine at this tyme, bot thair was many earles, lordis, and barrones, that war takin and ransomed. This battell was strickin in the moneth of Junij the aucht day, in the yeir of God 1488 yeires.

This may be ane example to all kingis that cumes heirefter, not to fall from God, and to grund thamselffis vpoun the vaine sayingis and illusiones of devillis and sorcereris, as this feible king did, quhilk pat him in suspitioun of his nobilitie, and to murther and exyll his awin native brother. For, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse lordis and barrones, he had not cum to sick disparatioun, nor suspitione, quhilk he was moved to tak be vaine and vicked persones, quhilk brought him to

ane mischeivous end. Thairfoir we pray all
godlie kingis to tak example by him, and to
fear God, and to vse wyse and godlie counsall,
having respect to thair high calling, and to
doe justice to all men.

HEAR BEGINES THE CRONICLES OF KING JAMES
THE FEIRD, AND OF HIS ACTIS.

JAMES the Thrid, vnhappilie slaine in this maner, as is befoir rehearsit, king James the Feird, and all the rest of the conspiratouris that came againes the king, passed to Lithgow, and remained thair quhill they gott word whidder the king was slaine or not. In this meane tyme thair came ane man to thame to Linlithgow, schowing thame that thair was tuo schipes of Captane Woodes travisching vp and doun the Firth, of the quhilkis schipes thair was on of thame called the Flour, and the vther the Yellow Carvell. Thir schipes had sent thair cock boattis to land, and receaved in many hurt men within thame, of quhom they judged the king to be one. At thir tyd- ingis the wholl conspiratouris tuik conjetur

of the same thing, sieing that Captane Wood was principall servant to the king at that tyme, and having waiges of him, and he and his schipis had beine oftymes furnisched abefoir be the king to pas quhair he pleased: thairfoir they beleived that he schould have awaited vpoun the king in the feild, and have broucht him to the schipis. They being certified of this matter, they raised thair armie and cam to Leith, and remained tuo dayes, and in the meane tyme send messingeris to Captane Wood, desiring to knaw if the king was in the schipes or noucht: who said he was not thair, and bad thame search and seik his schipes at thair pleasures, if they beleived not him. Upoun this answeir the messenger depairted back, schowing the captane's answeir; off the quhilk the prince and the lordis war not content, and send messingeris back againe to Captane Wood, desiring him to cum to the counsall, that they might inquyre of him how the matter stood. Bot he, on the vther pairt, knawing that they had murdered his maister in maner fairsaid, tuik suspitione of thame, that without pledges he would not cum in thair handis, that he might returne without harme or skaith to his schipis. This also the messenger reported vnto the prince

and the lordis, quho incontinent caused tuo lordis pas in pledges for the said captane quhill he schould be delyvered againe to his schipes ; to witt the lord Seatoun and the lord Fleming ; sua the lordis war receaved into the schipes, and Captane Wood cam and presentit himselff befor the lordis and prince, in the toun of Leith. Bot als soone as the prince saw the captane himselfe befor him beleived suirlye it had beine his father, and inquiryed of him, “ Sir, ar yea my father ? ” who answeired, with teares falling from his eyes, “ Sir, I am not your father, bot I was a servand to your father, and salbe to the auctoritie quhill I die, and ane enemye to thame that was the occasioun of his dounputting.” The lordis inquiryed of Captane Wood if he knew of the king, or quhair he was. He answeired, he knew nothing of the king, nor quhair he was. Then they speired quhat they war that cam out of the feild and passed in his schipes : he answered, “ It was I and my brother, quho war readie to have waired our lyves with the king in his defence.” Then they said, “ He is not in your schipes ? ” quho answeired againe, “ He is not in my schipes, bot would to God he war in my schipes saffie, I should defend him and keip him skaithles fra all the treasonable crea-

turis who hes murthered him, for I think to sie the day when they salbe hanged and draw-in for thair demeritis."

Then the lordis, sieing nothing in Captane Wood bot disphyghtfull answeiris and proud speakingis, they war not content thairwith; yitt they durst not put hand in him to doe him any skaith, becaus of the lordis that war pledges for him: ffor if the had done him any skaith, they wold incontinent have hanged the lordis that war pledges for him, quhilk, as it was, escaped narrowlie, becaus of the long stay of the said captane. The lordis haisted away the captane to his schipes, and inqyred no moe tydingis of him. This being done, the lordis pledges war delyvered and tane on land againe, who war richt flied, and schew the prince and the lordis, if they had holdin Captane Wood any longer they had been both hanged. Att this tyme the prince and the lordis war verrie commoved, and desired certane skipperis in Leith to pas furth and tak the said captane and bring him in. To this effect they called all the skipperes and marineris in Leith befor the counsall, to sie quhilk of thame wold tak in hand to pas vpoun the said captane, and they schould be furnished with men, artiliarie, and victuallis

vpoun the prince's expenssis, bot they all re-
fuisied : and on Captane Bartone answeired
and said, that thair was not ten schipes in
Scotland that would give Captane Woodes tua
schipes combatt ; for he was weill practiced
in warre, and had sick artilyarie and men that
it was hard dealling with him aither be sea or
land.

This being spokin, the prince and the lordis
considerred the same, and continewel the
same till afterwardis. So they past vp all to
Edinburgh, and remained ane quhyll, and
send out lettres into all pairtes, both into burgh
and land, desiring the wholl lordis commis-
sioneris to compeir at Edinburgh vpoun ane
certane day, to sie the king corroned, and to
give thair consent thairto. But, notwithstand-
ing, few compeired except sum commission-
eris of burrowes, and the lordis conspiratouris
thamselfis. And thair they crowned the king,
and thairefter they send ane herald to the cap-
tane of the Castle of Edinburgh, and desired
the same to be rendrit to the king and his cap-
tanes, quhilk was obedientlie done at the
kingis command. But the captane thairof
maid sick moyane with the lordis of counsall
and vtheris courteouris, that he continewed
still in his office. Sum sayes he certified

sum of the lordis quhair the kingis poose was, and caused thame gett the samyne, quhilk was the caus his continewance in his office. This being done, the king past to Stirling, and requyrit the castle thair of to be rendrit in the samyne manner, quhilk was done incontinent, and the king and his captanes receaved thairin, and ane new captane maid, to witt, Sir John Lundie, knyght. The king remained a quhyll in Stirling, and passed daylie to the Chappell Royall to hear the mattines and evining song: and everie day the chaplandis prayed for the kingis grace, deplorand and lamentand for the death of his father, quhilk moved the king to repentance, that he happened to be counsalled to cum againes his father in battell, quhairthrow he was murthered and slaine. To that effect he was moved to gange to the deare of the said Chappell Royall, and to have his counsall how he might be satisfied in his awin conscience, that he was airt and pairt of that conflict that was done to his father. This godlie man gave the king a guid counsall and comfort, sieing him so penitent. But yitt he durst not opin his mynd to the king so far as his conscience dytted him, becaus the king was young, and had no constancie to keip counsall or secreit thought, albeit

it was for his awin proffeitt; and also this godlie man dred the lordis and such as war conspiratouris of the kingis death, thinkand that they wold have beine allutterlie displeased at him, if he had desired the king to doe that which became him: for the quhilk caus he comforted the king in the tyme of his repentance, and continewed his counsall till his grace was fardder strukin in aige. So the king remained in the castle a certane space, bot he was ever sad and dollorrous in his mynd for the death of his father, that he was constrained to mak ane signe of repentance; for the quhilk caus he gart mak ane yron belt, and wore it daylie about him, and eikit it everie yeir, certane vneces weight.

The lordis that war conspiratouris perceaved the king evir musing in his mynd, thinkand at sumtymes he would be displeased with thair proceidingis; thairfoir they consulted amongst thaimselfis that they would counsall the king to thair effect quhill he was young; and also they feired the lordis on the other pairt who war with his father, thinkand at sumtyme they would gett the king to thair opinione; and for this same caus, to awoyd all suspitioun quhairthrow they might be challengit, they caused the king incontinent

to sett ane parliament to be haldin at Edinburgh, within the space of ffourtie dayes: and wairned all the wholl lordis and great barrones of Scotland, and commissioneris of burrowes, to compeir the day and place forsaidd, to hear and sie justice ministrat, lyk as it was in tymes past. Bot thair was ane speciall summondis directed to thame that war per-takeris with the kingis father againes himselff, and also of the burrowes, etc. quhilkis haill number of the lordis war twentie aught, and aught scoir of great barrones. Thir number war summondit ilk ane particularlie be thamselffis, to compeir befor the king and counsall at Edinburgh within ffourtie dayes, to the treasonable and cruell cuming with the kingis father againes himselff at Bannokburne: thinkand thair to caus the father devour the sone, with vther poyntis of dittay, quhilkis it is not neidfull to rehearse. And the first that was specified in the summondis was lord David Lindsay, becaus he was most familiar with the king at that tyme, and was starkest in his opinioun, and vsed himselff most manfullie in his defence againes his enemies, thairfoir the conspiratouris had most invy at him: And when the tyme cam all the lordis of Scotland compeired, both on the one syd and

on the vther, in presence of the king and counsall, in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, the king himselff sitting in judgment. The summond is was red, and the lord David Lindsay first called, and his dittay red in this manner as followis. "That is to say: Lord David Lindsay of the Byres compair for the cruell cuming againes the king at Bannokburne with his father, and in giving him counsall to have devored his sone, the kingis grace, heir present: and to that effect gave him ane sword and ane hors to fortifie him againes his sone: quhat is your answeir heirvnto?"

This lord David Lindsay being ane rasch man, and of rud language, albeit he was stout and hardie in the seildis, and was exercised in warre: yitt he had bot small prattick in the lawis, and could not answeir formallie to thair dittay, and could not gett ane man of law to speak for him, for fear of the king, becaus he satt in judgment himselff, and als the matter was treasone quhairof he was accused: Yitt the said lord David Lindsay, hearing himselff so oft called, and his dittay red, answeired in this manner, "Yea ar all lurdones, my lordis, and fals tratouris to your prince, and that I dare prove with my handis vpoun any one of yow who holdis yow best, from the kingis

grace doun. For yea fals lurdones hes caused the king in plaine battell cum againes his father, quhair that noble prince was cruellie murthered among your handis be your adwyse, though yea broucht the prince in presence for your behove, to mak him the buckler of your wicked interpryse: thairfoir, fals lurdones, and the king punisch not yow hastilie for that murther, yea will murther him when yea think tyme, as yea did his father. Sir, beware of thame, and give thame no credence, far they that war fals to your father can nevir be true to your selff. For, I assure your grace, had your father beine yitt alyve, I wold have tane his pairt and stand no aw of thir false lurdones. And lykwayes, if yea had a sone that wold be counsalled to cum in battell againes yow be the counsall of false traitoures lyk thir, I wold suirlie tak your pairt, and fight in your quarrell againes thame, evin with thrie againes sax of thir false tratouris, who caussis your grace to beleive evill of me. Tyme sall try me at lenth to be trewer nor ony of thame."

The chancellour and the rest of the lordis that satt in judgment with the king for the tyme, hearing the grose and ruid speach, and scharp accusatioun of lord David Lindsay, in

presence of the king, and all the wholl nobilitie of Scotland: the chancellour thought he hat thame ovir near. Thairfoir the chancellour, to excuse the matter, answeired and said to the king, in this manner, "Sir, lord Dauid Lindsay is bot aye man of the old world, and cannot answeir formallie, nor yitt speak reverentlie in your grace' presence. Your grace most be guid to him, and I traist he will cum in your will." Then he spak to lord Dauid Lindsay, saying to him, "It is guid for you to cum in the kingis will, and he will be guid to yow." Thir wordis war spokin purposlie, to caus lord Dauid Lindsay cum in the kingis will, that it might be ane preparative to all the rest that war vnder the summondis of forfaltrie, to follow and cum in the kingis will, and thought to have cutted thame off be that way. Bot on, Mr Patrik Lindsay, brother-germane to the lord Dauid Lindsay, heiring his brother desiret to cum in the kingis will, was not content thairwith. To that effect he stamped sadlie vpoun his brotheris foott, to latt him vnderstand that he was not content with the desir quhilk the chancellour proponed to him. But this stampe of Mr Patrikis was so heavie vpoun his brotheris fute, who had ane sair toe, quhilk was painfull to him, quhairfoir,

he luikit to him, and said, " Yea war over peirt to stampe vpoun my fute ; war yow out of the kingis presence, I wold overtak yow on the mouth." Mr Patrik, hearing the vaine wordis of his brother, plate on his knies befor the king and the Justice, and maid his petitionoun to thame in this manner : " Sir, if it will pleas your grace, and your honorabill counsall, I desir of your grace, for his caus that is judge of all, that your grace will give me leive this day to speak for my brother : for I sie thair is no man of law that dare speak for him for feare of your grace : and although he and I hes not beine at ane this monie yeires, yitt my heart may not sufler me to sie the native hous quhair- of I am descendit, to perisch !" So the king and the Justice gave him leive to speak for his brother. Then the said Mr Patrik raise aff his knies, and was verrie blyth that he had obtained that licence with the kingis favour. So he began verrie reverantlie to speak in this manner, saying to the wholl lordis of Parliamēt, and to the rest of thame that war accuseris of his brother at that tyme, with the rest of the lordis that war in the summondis of forsaltrie, who war entred in the bos window and thair to thoall an assyze, according to thair dittay, saying, " I beseik you all, my lordis,

that be hear present, for his sak that will give sentence and judgment on vs. all att the last day, that yea will remember, now instantlie is your tyme, and we have had the same in tymes bygane, as we may also have heirefter, desiring yow to know your awin estate, and that all thingis are changeable; bot Godis justice and judgment standis evir stable and firme; thairfoir doe all yea wold be done to in the administratioun of justice to your nighbouris and brethreine, who ar accused of thair lyves and heritages this day, whose judgment standis in your handis. Thairfoir beware in tyme, and opin not the doore that yow may not steik!" Be this Mr Patrik had endit his speaches, the chancellour bad him say sumthing for the defence of his brother, and to answeir to the poyntis of the summondis maid and raised vpoun his brother, and the rest of the lordis and barrones. Then Mr Patrik answeired againe, saying, "If it please the kingis grace, and your honoures that ar heir present, I say the king schould not sitt in judgment againes his lordis and barrones, becaus he has maid his oath of fidelitie, quhen he receaved the croun of Scotland, that he schould not in cum in judgment againes his lordis and barrones, in no actioun quhair he is pairtie himselff.

Bot hear his grace is both pairtie, and was at the committing of the cryme himself, thairfoir he ought not, nather be the law of God nor man, to sitt in judgment at this tyme; quhairfoir we desir him, in the name of God, to ryse and depairt out of judgment, quhill the matter be fardder discussed, conforme to justice."

Vpoun this the chancellour and lordis concludit that his petitioun was reasonable; thairfoir they desyred the king to rise vp, and pas to the inner tolbouth, quhilk was verrie vnpleasant to him for the tyme, being ane young prince sittand vpoun his royall seatt to be raised be his subjectis. Bot the lordis thinking schame to break justice, removed him on this manner, and than called vpoun lord Dauid Lindsay, and his procuratour maister Patrik Lindsay, to answeir for ward to the poyntis of the summondis, and dittay thairin conteint. Then Mr Patrik spak with humilitie, saying, "I beseik your Lordschipis, that ar judges, for his sak that judges vs all, to remember, that we have beine in the place quhairin yea ar now, and it may happin vs to have the king and court at our pleasour, as yea have now. Thairfoir sie that your proceedings be honest and godlie, in the leiding of your process."

The chancellour sayes, “ Yea will have no caus to plaint; but we pray yow schortlie to answeir to your summondis, and mak ws no more hinder; and yea sall have justice.” Mr. Patrik answeired, “ I trow the sumondes be desert and null in it selff, becaus he was summondit to compeir to this court and parliament vpoun the space of fourtie dayes without continewation of dayes, no mentioun is maid of quhair nor quhat place, bot generallie befor the king and counsall: and now my lordis, I believe it be ane and fourtie dayes, thairfoir the day is expyred of it selff; we ought not to answeir till we be new summondit, and lawfullie called thairto.”

The lordis luikit the summondis and indorsatiounes thairvpoun, and fand it to be as Mr. Patrik had said; and be the practick of Scotland, the summondis was castin, and the parliament dissolved. Yitt they caused the lordis that war vpoun the pannel, that schould have thoalled judgment, to find caution everie ane of thame, vnder the paine of certane soumes, to answeir at ane certane day appoynted to thame. Yitt all thir lordis war verrie blyth, thinking that all evill was guid of frist, and in speciall the lord David Lindsay was so blyth at his brothers sayingis, that he burst furth,

saying to him, "Verrilie brother, yea have fyne pyatt wordis. I wold not have trowed, be St Amarie, that yea had sick wordis," and said to him for that dayes labour he should have the Maynes of Kirkforther.

But when the king hard quhat Mr Patrick had said, he was displeased at him, and said to him, he schould sitt quhair he schould not sie his feitt for ane yeir, and immediatlie caused tak him to the Ross of Bute, and pat him in pre-sone, quhair he remained the space of ane yeir. This parliament was holdin at Edinburgh, the tent day Januar, anno 1489 yeires.

This same yeir, certane Inglisch schipis cam in our Scottis firth, and spoylled our merchandis with all vther passengeris that cam in their way. Off this the king and counsall thought great ill, and desired effectuouslie to be revengit thair of; bot they could gett no man, nather captanes, marrineris, nor skipperis, that would tak in hand to pas furth vpoun thame; quhyll at the last, they send for sir Andro Wood, knyght of Largo, and desired him to pas furth vpoun the said Inglisemen, and to that effect he sould be weill furnished with men, victuallis and artilarie, and he schould have the kingis favour thairfoir, and be rewardit richlie for his travell. Off this

sir Andrew Wood was weill content, and past furth of the firth, with tua schipis weill maned and artylled, to pas vpoun the said Inglismen. whom he forgathered with at the castle of Dunbar, quhair they fought verrie cruellie on either syd, with vncertane victorie ane lang space, notwithstanding the Inglismen war fyve, and he but tua, as said is, to witt, the Yellow Caruell and the Flour. Yitt the said sir Andrew Wood prevealed be his singular manhead and wisdome, and brought all his fyve schipis to Leith as prisoneris, and delyvered the captanes thair of to the kingis grace, for the quhilk notable act, the said captane Wood was weill rewairdit. This was he of quhom we spak befor; so he was holdin in great estimation with the king, and all the nobilitie thair after. Bot incontinent, when the king of Ingland hard tell of thir newis, that his schipis war foughtin and takin be sir Andrew Wood, he was greatlie displeased thairwith, and maid proclamatiounes through all Ingland, that whosoever would pas to the sea, and fight with sir Andro Wood, and if he happened to tak him prisoner, and bring him to him, he should have for his revarde, ane thousand pound sterling to spend be yeir. Thair was manie that refuissed, because they knew sir Andro Wood

to be sick ane captane vpoun the sea, and verrie fortunat in battell, quhairfor they had no will to assaillie him. Nevirtheles ane captane of warre, ane gentlman called Stephan Bull, took in hand to pas to the sea and fight with sir Andro Wood, and bring him prisoner to the king of England, either quick or dead : quhairat the king of England was greattumlie rejoyest, and caused provyd the said Captane thrie great schipis weill furnished with men and artillarie. Efter this the captane past to the sea, and sailled quhill he cam to the Scottis firth, that is to say, to the back of Inchmay, beyond the Bass, and tuik many of our boattis that war travelling for fisches, to win their living : and tuik manie of thame to give him knowledge quhair sir Andro Wood was, quhill at the last, a little before the day breaking, vpoun ane Sunday morning, ane of the English schipes perceaved tua schipes cuming vnder sail by St Cobs head : then the Inglisch captane caused sum of the Scottis prisoners pas to the topis of the schipes, that they might sie or spy if it was sir Andro Wood or nought : bot the Scottismen dissemblit, and said they knew not who it was, quhill at the last, the captane promised thair ransom frie to tell the veritie if it was captane Wood or not, quho

certified him that it was he indeed. Then the captane was verrie blyth, and gart fill the wyne, and drink about to all the skipperis and captanes that was vnder him, praying tham to tak guid courage, for thair enemies war at hand; for the quhilk caussis, he gart ordour his schipes in fear of warre, and sett the quarter maister and captanes, everie on in his awin rowme, and caused the gunneris to chairge and put all in ordour lyk ane guid and stout captane.

On the other syd, sir Andro Wood cam pertlie fordward, knawing no impediment of enemies to be in his gaitt, quhill at the last, he perceaved tua schipes cuming vnder sail, and making fast towardis thame in fear of warre. Than captane Wood sieing this, exhorted his men to battell, beseiking thame to be ferce against thair enemies, who had sworne and awowed to mak thame prisoneris to the king of England; "bot will God they sall fail of thair purpose. Thairfoir sett yourselfis in ordour, everie man to his awin rowme, and lat your gunes and crosbowis be readie. Bot aboue all, vse the fire ballis weill in the topis of the schipes, and let vs keep our overloftis with tua handit swordis, and everie guid fellow doe and remember on the weillfair of the

realme, and his awin honour, and weill God, for my awin pairt, I sall schow yow guid example." So he caused perce the wyne, and everie man drank to vther. Be this the sun begouth to ryse and schyne bright on the sailis, so the Inglisch schipes appeired verrie awfull in the sight of the Scottis, be reason thair schipes war gritt and strong, and weill furnished with great artillerie. Yitt the Scottis effeired nothing, bot kest thame vnderward on the Inglismen, who sieing that, schott tua great cannonees at the Scottis, thinking that they should have strikin saill at thair boast. Bot the Scottismen, nothing effeired thairwith, cam stoutlie forward vpoun the wind syd, vpoun captane Stevin Bull, and clipped fra hand, and faught thair fra the ryssing of the sune, till the goeing down of the same, in the long sommeris day, quhill all the men and women that duelt neir the coast syd, stood and beheld the fighting, quhilk was terrible to sie. Yitt notwithstanding the night severed thame, that they war forced to depairt from otheris quhill the morne that the day began to break and thair trumpettis blew on aither syd, and maid thame againe to the battell, who clipped and foughit so cruellie, that nather skipperis nor marrineris took head of thair schipes, but

fightand still till the ebb tyd and south wind bure thame to Inchcap, fornent the mouth of Tay. The Scottismen sieand this, they tuik sick courage and hardiment, that they doubled on the strokis on the Inglismen, and thair tuik Stevin Bull and his thrie schipis, and had thame vp to the toun of Dundie, and thair remained till thair hurt men war cured, and the dead buried; and thairefter tuik Stevin Bull, and had him to the kingis grace as a prisoner. And the king reseaved him glaidlie, and thanked sir Andro Wood greatlie, and rewairded him richlie for his labours, and great proof of his manhead, and thairefter propyned the Inglish captane richlie, and all his men, and send thame all saffie home, thair schipes and all thair furnishing, becaus they had schowin thamselffis so stout and hardie warrioures. So he send thame all back to the king of England : to lett him vnderstand that he had als manlie men in Scotland as he had in England ; thairfoir desired him to send no moe of his captanes in tyme cuming. But the king of England hearing of thir newis, was discontented, quhan as his men said to him, that the king of Scotland said to thame, if they came againe in sick forme to perturb his coastis, that it might be they would not be so weill intertained, nor

loup home so dry schod. Alwayes the king of Ingland accounted himselff obleist to the king of Scotland, for the safe delyverance of his men, and intertaining of thame.

In this meane tyme was guid peace and rest in Scotland, and great love betuixt the king and his subjectis, and was weill loved be thame all; for he was verrie noble, and though the vyce of covetousness range over meikle in his father, it rang not in himselfe; nor yitt pyk-thankis nor cowardis should be authorised in his companie, nor yitt advanced, neither vused he the counsall bot of his lordis, quhairby he wan the heartis of the wholl nobilitie; so that he would ride out through any part of the realme him allone, vnknawin that he was king; and would ligge in pure menis houssis, as he had beine ane travellour through the countrie, and would requyre of thame quhair he ludged, quhair the king was, and quhat ane man he was, and how he vused himselff towardis his subjectis, and quhat they spok of him throw the countrie. And they would answeir him as they thought guid, so be thir doeing the king hard the commoun brute of himselff. This prince was vondrous hardie, and diligent in executioun of justice, and loved nothing so weill as able men and horsis: thairfoir at

sundrie tymes he would caus mak proclamatiounes through the land, to all and sundrie his lordes and barrones, who war able for justing and turney, to cum to Edinburgh to him, and thair to exercise thaimselffis for his pleasour; sum to rune with the speare, sum to fight with the battle aix, sum with the tu handlit sword, and sum with the hand bow and vther exercises, etc. Whosoevir fought best got his adversaries weapon delyvered to him be the king, and he who ran best with the speare, got ane speare headed with pur gold, delyvered to him, to keip in memorie of his praick thairintill. By this meanes the king brought the realme to great manhead and honouris; that the fame of his justing and turney spread throw all Europe, quhilk caused many errand knyghtis cum out of vther pairtes to Scotland, to seik justing, becaus they hard of the kinglie fame of the prince of Scotland. Bot few or none of thame passed away vnmached, and oftymes overthrowne.

In this meane tyme was ane marvell seine in Scotland. Ane bairne was borne rekoned to be ane man chyld, who from the waist vp was tuo fair personages, with all memberis and portratours perteaning to tuo bodies; and the back of one was fast to the other, but fra the

wast doun they war bot on persone. The king caused tak great cair vpoun the vpbring- ing of thir bodies in on personage, and caused learne thame to sing and play vpoun instru- mentis, who within schort quhill became verie ingenious and cunning in the airt of musick, that they could play vpoun any instrument, the one the tenor, and the other the tryble, verie melodiouslie, quhilk moved the people to treat them verrie weill. Also they could speak sundrie leadis; that is to say, Latine, French, Italianes, Spanisch, Duch, Dence, Inglish, and Irisch. Thir tuo bodies lived twentie aucht yeires, and than the one of thame depairted, quhilk was verrie dollorous to the vther, quhilk was the longest leiver; for the quhilk men bad him be merrie; he would an- sweir, "How can I be mirrie that has my brother as ane dead carcase vpoun my back, who was vont to sing and play with me: when I was sad he would comfort me, and I richt so to him: bot now I have nothing but dollour in bearing so heaue a burtheine, dead cold, and dissolved on my back, thairfoir I pray the Almightye God to delyver me out of this lyffe, that we may be laid in the earth togidder quhairfra we came"

Soone efter this, thair cam ane Duch knyght in Scotland, called Sir Johne Cockbewis, and desired fighting and justing with the lordes and barrones thairof. Bot none was so apt and readie to fight with him as sir Patrick Hamiltoun, being then strong of bodie, and able to all thingis, and yitt for lak of exercisoun he was not so weill practised as mister had-beine, though he laked no hardiment; strength nor courage. Bot when the Duchman and he was assembled togidder, on great horsis vnder the castle wall of Edinburgh, in the barrace; so efter the sound of trumpet, the rusched verrie rudlie togidder and break thair speares on vther, and immediatlie gatt new speares and encountered againe. Bot sir Patrick's hors vlttered, and would in no wayes encounter his adversar againe, that it was force to sir Patrik to light on foot, and fight the Duchman, and bad the Duchman alight from his hors, and end out the matter, saying to him a hors was a weak weapon, when men had most adoe. Then both the knightis alighted on thair foott, and joyned pertlie togidder with right awfull countenance; each on strak at vther and fought the space of an hour, with vncertaine victorie, quhill at the last, the said sir Patrick rusched rudlie vpoun the Duchman, and strak

him on his knies, and the Duchman being on his knies, the king kest his hatt over the castle wall, and caused the judges to stay and red thame ; bot the heraldis and trumpetteris cryed and soundit, saying the victorie was sir Patrikis. This sir Patrik Hamiltoun was brother germane to the earle of Arrane, and sister bairnes with the kingis grace, and was ane wyse and valiant man all his dayes.

This king James the Feird was weill learned in the airt of medicine, and was ane singular guid chirurgiane ; and thair was none of that professioun if they had any dangerous cure in hand, bot would have craved his adwyse.

In this mean tyme the Drummondis brunt the kirk of Monivaird, quhairin was six scoir of Murrayes with thair wayffes and childraine, and few escaped thairfra, bot war all aither brunt or slaine, except on David Murray, quhilk fact the king punisched condignlie thairefter, for he headed monie of the principall actouris thair of at Stirling. The king also caused tak ane dumb voman, and pat her in Inchkeith, and gave hir tuo bairnes with hir, and gart furnisch hir in all necessares thingis perteaning to thair nourischment, desiring heirby to knaw quhat languages they had when they cam to the aige of perfyte speach.

Some sayes they spak guid Hebrew, but I knaw not by authoris rehearse, etc.

In this meane tyme Bernard Stewart, brother to the earle of Lennox, and Monsieur Derbine, having the Scottis companie vnder thair dominion in France, vnder the king thair of, passed to Naples, and thair the said Bernard was maid regent and governour thair of: who rulled it also with great wisdome and gentlnes, that he wane all the heartis of the said realme, and loved and obeyed him so weill, that he was called be the French the Petteroy of Naples. Att this tyme the king and counsall of France was not content, thinking that he being ane Scottisman would vsurpe the croun of Naples to him selff: and for that caus devysed ane great lord of France to pas and be equall with the said Monsieur Derbine in all authoitie and power of governance of the said realme of Naples. But fra tyme the said Monsieur Derbine knew the king of France suspitioun in that matter, he was not myndit to stay longer in the realme, bot haistilie depaired, and cam throw England into Scotland, quhair he was weill receaved be the king and counsall, and the kingis grace treatted him verrie gentlie, and sett him evir at his awin table with himselff, and maid him judge to all

justing and turney, and called him father of warres, becaus he was weill practicked in the same.

In the yeir of God 1504 yeires, in the moneth of August, king James the Feird tuik to wayff Margaret, the king of Inglandis sister, first borne dochter to Hendrie the Sewint, and was married with hir solemnnedlie be the adwyce of the nobilitie of Scotland and Ingland, and gatt gritt sowmes of money with hir: and promise of peace and vnitie maid and ordained to stand betweine the tuo realmes, and thairto the said kingis gave both thair handis, and oathis of fidelitie, that they should observe and keip the samyne during the tyme of thair lyves, but fraud or guyle. Bot allace, this continuance was not long keipit, as efter yea sall hear. For the king of Ingland being alyed with the king of Scotland in this manner, thought he had his tyme convenient to pas to France to seik his pensioun. Thairfoir he assemblit his wholl lordis to ane counsall to sie quhat was thair myndis thairintill: quhilk manie of thame consented to; and gave him counsall to pursue his awin ryght, considerring he was allayed with the king of Scotland, and so bandit with him, that he neidit not to fear no backchailes of thame as he

had vont to do. Thairfoir they tuik the lese fear of France, thinking that the king should obtaine his pensioun bot ony trouble or impediment. Yitt the counsall of Ingland thought expedient to send ane ambassadour to the king of France to desir him to render the king of Inglandis pensioun frielie to him bot ony trouble; certifying him if he would not he would cum himselff in propper persone for the same, quhilk would not be to his contentment. So the ambassadour past to France, and schew the king thair of his commissioun, quho was not content thairwith; beleiving weill that the king of Ingland durst not attempt to enter in warre against him. Yitt he was commoved at the message, and gave the ambassadouris deferring answeiris litle to effect.

In this meane tyme thair was ane bischope in Scotland called Andro Forman, bischope of Murray, who at that tyme was to pas to Rome, and rod his way through Ingland, quhair he was weill treated and receaved be king Hendrie the Aught, and that for the king of Scotlandis saik: syne past to Rome, quhair he was weill receaved be the Pope.

In this meane tyme, king Lues of France and Pope Julii, the Sewint of that name, fell in discord: and the said Pope raised ane armie

of ane hundreth thousand men, to cum againes the king of France, and give plaine battell, if he would not yeild to thair desires. The king of France sieing the Pope so rigourous againes him, cam manfullie to the fieldis againes him, with ane triumphant armie of the number of fourscoir thousand men. Thir tuo armies marched togidder within the space of ane Scottis myll, readie to joyne at the sound of a trumpet. But this noble bischope Forman being in companie with the Pope for the tyme, desired at his holines that he might speak with the king of France, quhilk petitioun was granted to him be the Pope, who was verrie glaid of his desir. So this noble bischope past to the king of France quhair he was with his armie in propper persone, quho receaved the bischop werrie reverentlie, for the king of Scotlandis saik ; who was also verrie blyth of his cuming, traisting that the bischop favoured him for the king of Scotlandis saik ; that he would not létt the Pope give him battell if he might stop him, and to that effect he gave him fair wordis, and granted to manie of his desires. This bischope came haistilie againe to the Pope with guid narratioun of the king of France, saying to the Pope, that the king of France was readie to defend the libertie of the

kirk, and specialle to serve his holines, and pas with him quhair he pleased. Thir guid wordis, and vther siclyk, mitigatt the Pope soe, that he applyed to the bischopis counsall, and skailled his armie, and said he was content to cum and intercommoun freindlie and tenderlie with the king of France. So this bischope past haistilie to the king of France, who was weill content thair of, and promised to bischope Forman that he schould skail his armie in lyk manner as the Pope had done his, and that he would meitt and speak with the Pope in any place quhilk he would appoyntt. And on the morne both the armies skailled, and the Pope and the king of France met and imbraced vther verrie tenderlie, and aggried vpoun all matteris debaittable betuixt thame, be the travellis and labouris of this bischope, who was richlie rewairdit thairfoir, and obtaint gritt favouris of noblemen on both sydes; for the Pope lighted down aff his mule and gave him to bischop Forman, with great giftis of gold, and had him to Rome with him, and maid him legatt of Scotland. Then this bischope maid ane banquet to the Pope and all his cardinallis, in on of the Pope's awin palaces, and when they war all sett according to thair custome, that he who ought the hous for the

tyme should say the grace ; and he was not ane guid scholler, nor had not guid Latine, bot begane rudlie in the Scottise faschioun, saying Benedicite, beleivand that they schould have said Dominus, bot they answeired, Deus in the Italiane faschione, quhilk pat the bischope by his intendment, that he wist not weill how to proceed forward, bot happened, in guid Scottis in this manner, sayand quhilk they vnderstuid not, “ The divill I give yow all false cardinallis to, in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.” Then all the bischope’s men leugh, and all the cardinallis thamselffs ; and the Pope inquiryed quhairat they leugh, and the bischop schew that he was not ane guid clark, and that his cardinallis had put him by his text and intendment, thairfoir he gave thame all to the devill in guid Scottis, quhairat the Pope himselff leugh verrie earnestlie. Thus when the bischope had ended his bussines, and was maid legatt of Scotland, he tuik his leive of the Pope and all his cardinalles, he cam throw Italie and cam to France, quhair he was verrie welcome, both to the king, queine, and connsall thair of, and was richlie rew airdit for his peace making betuixt him and the Pope, and gave him thairfoir the bischoprick of Burges of Barrie, quhilk

was to him in proffeyt four hunder tun of wyne yeirlie, and ten thousand markis of gold, with vther small commodities. The king of France also schew this bischope how the king of Ingland had sent ambassadouris to him desiring his pensioun to be payed, or else he would cum and invaid his realme, quhairfor he desired the bischope verrie effectuouslie to speak the king of Scotland to support him conforme to the tenor of his auld band, and also prayed the bischope to be his guid freind in counsalling the king: that is to say, when the king of Ingland came to France, that he should raise ane armie and pas in England, lyk as his old band maid mentioun. To this effect the king of France sent ambassadouris in Scotland with the said bischope, to desir the same, as said is. Bot the king gave him deferring answeiris, becaus of the love and tendernes that was betuixt him and the king of Ingland, his brother in law. Thir ambassadouris past in France againe, nothing content with thair answeir.

This drew over for ane space, and in the meane tyme Margaret, our young queine, broucht home ane sone, in the moneth of Maj, in the yeir of God 1511 yeires. In the same yeir the king buildit a great schipe called the

Micheall, quhilk was ane verrie monstrous great schip ; for this schip tuik so meikle timber, that schoe wasted all the woodis in Fyfe except Falkland wood, by the timber that cam out of Norway. For many of the schipwrightis in Scotland wrought at hir, and wrichtis of vther countries had thair devyse at hir ; and all wrought bussilie the space of ane yeir at hir. This schip was twelff scoir footis lenth ; threttie sax fōott within the wallis : schoe was ten foot thik within the wallis of cutted risles of oak, so that no cannon could doe at hir : shoe cumbred all Scotland to gett hir to the sea : and when shoe was committed to the sea, and vnder saill, shoe was counted to the king to fourtie thousand pund of expensis, by hir ordouris and cannones quhilkis shoe bair. Shoe had thrie hunder marineris to governe hir ; sixscoir guneris to vse her artaillarie, and ane thousand men of warre, by captanes, skipperis, and quarter maisteris. Quhen this schip past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king caused shott ane cannon at hir, to essay hir if shoe was wight, bot the cannon deired hir not. And if any man belevies that this schip was not as we have schowin, latt him pas to the place of Tullibardyne, quhair he will find the breadth and

lenth of hir sett with hawthorne: as for my author was Captane Andro Wood, principall captane of hir, and Robert Bartane, who was maister skipper. This schip lay still in the road, and the king tuik great pleasour everie day to cum down and sie hir, and would dyne and sup in hir sundrie tymes, and be showing his lordis hir ordour and munitioun. Quhill at the last the king of Scotland was suirlye advertised that the king of Ingland was making readie with all haist possible could be, with ane great armie, and navie of schipes, to pas to France to seik his pensioun, quhairof the king of Scotland was not content; trusting weill if the king of Ingland invadit France that he would be chairgit be the king of France for support, according to his old band, quhilk he was loath to break, and, vpoun the vther pairt, was verrie loath to break his new allyance with the king of Ingland, quhilk greatlie commoved this guid king. Yitt, nevirtheles, be counsall of the bischopis, who evir favoured France better than Ingland, counsalled the king to pyk ane quarrell at Ingland, quhilk they believed should caus the king of Ingland to start, quhairby the king of Scotland might have occasioun to support France. And so they caused the king send

bischop Andro Forman to Ingland to the king, desiring of him certane silver wark and goldin peaces, with ringes, chaines, and pretious stones and vther abulzementis of gold perteaning to the prince, his eldest brother, quhilk was left to Margaret, queine of Scotland, be legacie of hir eldest brother. To thir petitiones the king of Ingland answeired saying, " My lord ambassadour, desires the king of Scotland any thing quhilk was left in legacie be my eldest brother to Margaret, queine of Scotland, my eldest sister, shoe salbe weill satisfied and answeired thairfoir, not onlie thairof, bot the double thairof of all thingis. Thairfoir mak your memoriall of all your desires, the number and the valour thairof, and yea sall not onlie have the single, bot the double thairof, as I am ane trew prince: on condition that the king of Scotland will keip his oath and band to me that he maid laitlie with consent of his parliament; as lykwayes I, with consent of my lordis, hes maid the oath of fidelitie to him as he hes done to me, be the laying and touching with our handis the great evangell, and our superscriptiounes and great seallis interchanged thairvpoun, that nevyr none of ws sall invaid ane vther for no manes pleasur, bot sall leive in peace and rest as

vther Christiane men and guid nighbouris should doe. Thairfoir I will desir the king of Scotland, for Almightie Godis sak, that he will sitt at home in his awin chyre, and latt me and the king of France pairt betuixt ws to seik the richt of my awin pensioun, quhilk is holdin from me vrongouslie be the pryd and avarice of France. Thairfoir I will desir him to sitt still and be judge to ws, and if he does me no guid that he does me no evill, and show to him that it sall nather be gold, silver, landis, riches, nor rent, that sall stand in difference betuixt me and him; and if he believes not this, send ane answeir haistilie againe ere I depairt out of Ingland to France, and I sall delyver his desires to thame, with any other thing that he will ask of me, etc.: And if he will faithfullie keip his promise to me, I sall incontinent, with consent of nobles, mak him duik of York and governour of Ingland to my homecuming, for the aires of Ingland must cum aither of him or of me: for I have non as yitt lawfull of my bodie; bot I hear say Margaret, my eldest sister, hes ane air maill of guid expectatioun. I pray God to blis him and keip him from his enemies, and that I may sie him in honour and estimatioun.”

In this manner answeired the king of Ing-

land to the ambassadour, and rewairdit him richlie at his way cuming, and gave him the priorie of Candinbecke, quhilk was in rent be yeir four thousand angell nobles, by the convent thair of. So the ambassadour came home to Scotland haistilie, and schew the king of Inglandis answeir to the king of Scotland in manner forsaide. Off this answeir the king of Scotland was weill content, thinkand that he onawayes could refuse so fair offeris as his brother of law, the king of Ingland, had offerred to him : thairfoir consulted with himselff, and concludit with his counsall that he would not invaid Ingland at that tyme for no favour that he had to France. Thairfoir the king sent away the bischop againe into France, that he would not, nor might not invaid Ingland, to cum in it with ane armie, be reasoun of his oathe and promise maid to the king of Ingland in the contrair thair of, bot he promised, to send ane armie be sea to France to support thame ; and incontinent the king caused furnisch and victuall his great ship with all kynd of ordoures, and chused four weill practised and hardie men to be quarter maisteris of hir, and maid my lord Hamiltoun great captane of hir ; and maid my lord Fleming vice admirall thair of, to sail in the Margaret ; the lord Ros in

the James, quhilk was also on of the kingis great shipes: quhilkis thrie schipes war weill furnisched, and manie lordis and barrones in thame, to the number of ten thousand men, who war weill arrayed for battell. And my lord Hamiltoun, earle of Arrane, having the chairge of thame to pas quhair he pleased, and speëiallie to France, quhair the armie was lying for the tyme, debaitting againes the king of Ingland, thinking be thair support to caus the king of Ingland returne; bot all was in vaine: for my lord Hamiltoun, great admirall of the navie, keipit no directioun of his maister, the king, bot past vpoun the wast seais on the coast of Irland, and thair landit and brunt Craigfergus, with all vther villages, and then cam fornent the toun of Air, and thair landit and played thaimselffis, and reposed be the space of fourtie dayes.

In this meane tyme bischop Forman being in France, who had promised support to the king be his maisteris directioun, and luikit daylie for the cuming of the Scottismen; bot becaus he could not sie his matteris tak effect, he writt home verrie scharplie to the king, making mentioun to him that his honouris was tint for evir, if he send not support to the king of France. The queine of France also

writt ane love lettre to the king of Scotland, nameing him hir love, shewing him that shoe had suffered meikle rebuik for his saik in France, for the defending of his honour, quhairfoir shoe beleived that he wold recompence hir with sum of his kinglie support in sick ane necessitie, that is, that he wold raise ane armie and cum thrie fute on Inglis ground, for hir sak, and to that effect shoe sent him ane ring aff hir finger, worth fyfteine thousand French crounes. Quhen thes newis came to the king of Scotland, he would scarce lie beleive, for he knew weill that his navie had not past the richt way; and schortlie thairefter he gatt word that they war landit at the toun of Air, quhairat the king was greatlie displeased, for he beleived surlie that they had beine in France. Bot, becaus they keipit not his directioun, he sent Sir Andro Wood and certane heraldis, and dischairged my lord Hamiltoun to be admirall any longer, and awowed to God that he should nevir bruik heritage in Scotland efter that day. But this lord being young, notwithstanding he hard the terrible message of the king, yitt he would not give over his office at the kingis command, bot pulled vp sailis and past quhairvir he pleased, thinkand that he would cum to France in dew time.

The king hearing of this vnprosperous journey, beleivand that France should gett no support of him for the tyme, caused mak proclamatiounes throw all Scotland, eist and west, south and north, alsweill in the Illes as in the inland, that they should be in readines within twentie dayes warneing, to pas with him quhair he pleased with fourtie dayes provisioun, and to meitt him at the Burrow mure of Edinburgh. This proclamatioun was haistilie obeyed contrair the counsall of Scotlandis will. Yitt nevirtheles, they both loved and feared him so, that they would not refuse him. Bot everie man gart mak his provisioun according to the proclamatioun.

Att this tyme the king came to Lithgow, quhair he was at the counsall verrie sad and dollorous, makand his prayeris to God, to send him ane guid succes in his voyage. And thair cam ane man clad in ane blew gowne, belted about him with ane roll of lining, and ane pair of brottikines on his feitt, and all vther thingis conforme thairto. Bot he had nothing on his head, bot syd hair to his shoulderis and bald befoir. He seemed to be ane man of fiftie yeires, and cam fast forwardis, crying among the lordis, and speciallie for the king, saying, that he desired to speak with him,

quhill at the last he cam to the dask quhair the king was at his prayeris. Bot when he saw the king he gave him no due reverence nor salutatioun, but leined him doun gruf-lingis vpoun the dask, and said, " Sir king, my mother has send me to the, desiring the not to goe quhair thow art purposed, quhilk if thow doe, thow sall not fair weill in thy journey, nor non that is with the. Fardder, shoe forbad the, not to mell nor vse the counsell of vomen, quhilk if thow doe, thow wilbe confoundit and brought to shame." Be this man had spokin thir wordis to the king, the evin song was neir done, and the king paused on thir wordis; studieing to give him ane answer. Bot in the meane tyme, befor the kingis eyis, and in presence of the wholl lordis that war about him for the tyme, this man evanished away, and could be no more seine. I heard Sir David Lindsay, lyon-herald, and Johne Inglis the marchell, who war at that tyme young men, and speciall servandis to the kingis grace, thought to have takin this man, bot they could not, that they might have speired farther tydingis at him, bot they could not touch him. Bot all thir vncouth novellis and counsall could not stay the king from his purpose, and vicked interpryse,

bot haisted him fast to Edinburgh to mak him readie, and to mak provisioun for himself and his armie againe the said day apoyntted. That is, he had sewin great cannonees out of the castle of Edinburgh, quhilkis was called the Sewin Sisteris, castin be Robert Borthik; and thrie maister gunneris, furnisched with poudër and leid to thame at thair pleasure; and in the meane tyme they war taking out the artillarie, the king himselff being in the Abbey, thair was ane cry heard at the mercatt croce of Edinburgh, about midnight, proclame-and, as it had beine, ane summondis, quilkis was called be the proclamer thair of, the summondis of Platcok, desiring all earles, lordis, barrones, gentlmen, and sun-drie burgess within the toun, to compeir befor his maister within fourtie dayes, quhair it sould happin him to be for the tyme, vnder the paine of disobedience; and so many as war called war designed be thair awin names. But whidder this summondis was proclaimed be vaine persones, night walkeris, for thair pastyme, or if it was ane spirit, I cannot tell. But on indweller in the toun, called Mr Richard Lawsoun, being evill disposed, ganging in his gallerie, start fornent the croce, hearing this voyce, thought marvell quhat it should be :

so he cryed for his servand to bring him his purs, and tuik ane croun and kest it over the stair, saying, " I for my pairt appeallis from your summondis and judgment, and takis me to the mercie of God." Werrilie he quho caused me cronicle this was ane sufficient land-it gentlman, who was in the toun in the meane tyme, and was then twentie yeires of aige ; and he swore efter the feild thair was not ane man that was called at that tyme, that escaped except that on man, that appailld from thair judgmentis. Thir newis spred through the toun on the morne, and came to the kingis eares, who gave thame but little credence : nor would he give no credance to no counsall, signe, nor token that maid againes his purpos, bot refused all godlie counsall, quhilk was for the weill of his croun and countrie ; nather would he vse any counsall of his wyse and prudent wayff, Margaret queine of Scotland ; for no prayer nor supplicatioun that shoe could mak him, showand that shoe had bot one sone to him, quhilk was over weak ane warrand to the realme of Scotland ; and that it was over soone to him to pas to battell, leivand so few succession behind him. Thairfoir schoe desired him to stay quhill God should send thame more successioun of thair bodies ; for shoe as-

sured him, if he past in England at that tyme, that he would gett battell. Yitt this wyse and loving counsall could not be taine in guid pairt be him, becaus shoe was the king of Inglandis sister. Albeit this noble voman labour-ed als meikle as shoe could for the weill of hir husband, and als for the love shoe buir to hir brother the king of England, shoe desired that no discord might be between the two realmes in hir tyme. Bot nothing could stay the king, bot fordwardis he went to the Borrow mure, quhair all his earles, lordes, barrones, and burgessis war assemblit, and all manner of man betuixt saxtie and saxteine, spirituall and temporall, burgh and land, illes men and vtheris; quhilkis amonted to the number of a hundreth thousand fighting men, by carriage men and artilliaris, who had the chairge of fyftie schott of cannonees; and passed fordward to the East Toun, and camped thair all night; and on the morne went to Wark and Norhame, and kest thame down, and thairefter went to Foord and kest it down, quhilk did gritt skaith to the kingis men, in the falling with the timber thairof. Some sayes the ladie Foord, being ane bewtifull voman, the king melled with hir, and the bischope of St Androis with hir dochter, quhilk was againes the

ordour of all guid captanes of warre to begine at whordome and harlottrie, befor ony guid succes of battell or victorie. Bot doubtles sick proceedingis is oftymes the occasioun of ane evill succes. Alwayes, the king remained thair the space of twentie dayes, without battell, or no appeirance of the same, quhill the most pairt of thair victuallis war spendit, and speciallie the farre northland menis, and the illes menis, that they war forced to goe home to furnisch the same: and everie lord and barone send home of his speciall servandis for new provisioun: so that thair abod not above ten thousand men with the king, by bordereris and countrie men. Yitt the king tuik no fear, for he beleived that the Inglischmen should not have given him battell at that tyme. Bot this vicked ladye Fuirde, sieing the kingis hoast so disperst, for laik of victuallis, and knew all the secreitis that war amongst the kingis men, and the intentioun of the king himselff, and secret counsall, quhilk knowlege shoe had be hir frequent whordome with the king, quhilk moved hir to ask licence of the king to pas innerward in the countrie, to speak with certane of hir freindis, saying to the king that shoe should bring him all newis out of the south countrie, quhat they war doing, or

quhat was thair purpose to doe, and thairfoir shoe desired the king to remane thair till hir return. And he againe, as an effeminat prince, subdewed and intysed be this vicked voman, gave hir haistilie credence in this matter, and beleived all that shoe had said to be trew. So he caused convoy her ane litle space from the hoast as shoe desired. But this ladie Fuirde being myndfull to keip no credit with the king, for the love shoe buire to hir native countrie, shoe past haistilie to the earle of Surrey, quhair he was lyand at York, at that tyme, and shew to him the haill secreittis of the king, and how many he was, and quhair his armie lay, and quhat poyntt they war att, and how his men war disperst, and past from him for laik of victuallis, and that thair was not abyding with him but ten thousand of all his great armie. Quhairfoir shoe counsalled the earle of Surrey to cum fordwardis vpoun him, assuring him of victorie, by hir ingyne, for shoe should deceave the king, also farre as shoe might, and put him in the Inglismentis handis. Thir novellis being showin to the earle of Surrey, be this vicked voman, he greatlie rejoyced thairat, and thanked hir greatumlie for hir laboures and paines, that shoe tuik for hir native countrie, promiseand

to hir, that within thrie dayes he should meitt the king of Scotland.

In the meane tyme lettres came to the earle of Surrey, that his sone the lord Howard was landit at Dover, and sex thousand men with him of the best warrioures of all king Harries armie, send to him be the king, who was lying in France, seiking his pensioun, and gott word that the king of Scotland was cum in Ingland, invaiding his realme, for love of France, and contrair the law of God, and both the realmes of Scotland and Ingland, considdering the promiseis, bandis, and allyances maid betuixt the tuo pairties and realmes, as we have showin befor. Notwithstanding the king of Ingland lamented heavilie the vnkyndnes of his guid brother ; and thairfoir he writt his commissioun to the earle of Surrey, that he should be the leivtennent for the tyme, and to raise the haill bodie of the realme, and to caus thame pas fordward vpoun the king of Scotland, to defend the realme, giveand him an expres command that he schould not pursue the king of Scotland be no manner of way, bot in his awin defence. The earle of Surrey hearing the letteris of commissioun presented be his sone, was verrie rejoyced, and tuik sick courage at the home cuming of his sone with

such an armie, that he assemblit all that he might be, and maid thair musteris incontinent, quhilk came to the number of fyftie thousand men. The captanes thairof was the earle of Surrey, and the lord Howard, principall governouris of the hoast; and the lord Dacres, merschall, and the lord Westmoreland, and the Pierces of Northumberland, war the chief-tanes of the vanguard; and so in all possible haist merched towardis the Scottis, quhair they lay for the time, to witt at Flowdoun hillis, tak-and no fear of enemies to invaid thame, and in speciall of the Inglismen, for the king nor none of his counsall knew of the earle of Surreyis cuming, nor beleived not to have gottin battell of him, nor of no other of Ingland at that time, considdering the king himselff was not present in the realme. So the king of Scotland being so insolent, and having no foresicht nor moyane in the countrie, lay still, taking no fear, as ane man incounsallable, who would doe nothing for his lordis and captanes, nor for the safegaird of his hoast, nor weill of his nobles, nor for obtaining of victorie, bot lying awaiting still, for the ladie Foordis in cuming; but in vaine, for shoe came not again, quhill the Inglisch armie cam with hir. So the king of Scotland nevir knew

the cuming of the Inglismen, quhill thair wholl armies war within the space of thrie Scottis mylles to him arrayed in sewin great battellis.

Quhen thir novellis war schowin to the king of Scotland, he would scarcilie beleive thame, but lap vpoun hors, and road to the head of ane hill to sie, which, when he saw thame cuming so fast forward he caused very courageously, and with ane manlie countenance, to sound his trumpettis and put his men in array, and ordained to chairge his artillarie, and mak all readie. In this mean tyme the lordis past all to ane counsall, thinkand that they would not suffer the king to give battell at that tyme to ane man of inferiour degrie.

Quhen the lordis went to the counsall the king disguysed himselff and cam privilie and hard everie lordis vot, and quhat was thair conclusion; to witt, the lordis chairged lord Patrik Lindsay to be chancellour, and first vatter of the counsall, becaus he was of greatest aige, and had best experience amongst thame all of sick affaires. So they inquyr-
ed of him, if the king sould give battell at that time to Ingland or not. The lord Lindsay being ryplie adwysed in this matter, sieing the proceeding and conversatioun of the king, au-

sweired, “ My lordis, yea desir my opinion, if the king sall give battell to Ingland or not? My lordis, I will give yow ane similitud, desiring yow to knaw my mynd be the same; for I compare your Lordschipsis to ane honest merchant, that wold in his voyage goe to dyce with ane common hazarter, and thair to jeopard in his playing ane rose noble, at ane cast, against ane glyed halfpennie, quhilk if this merchand wines, it wilbe accompted litle or small; but if he tynes, he tynes his honour with that noble peace of gold, quhilk is of fare greater value. So my lordis, yea may vnderstand by this, that yea will be called the merchand, and your king the rose noble, and Ingland the common hazarter, who hes nothing to jeopard but ane halfpennie, in comparisone of our noble king, and ane old cruiked carle in ane chariott. Quhairfor, I think my lordis, if Ingland respectis ane old cruiked carle in ane chariott, although they tyne him they tyne but litle, bot if we hazard our noble prince at this tyme, and happin to tyne him, we wilbe called evil merchandis, and far wors obunsallares to his majestie; for if we tyne him, we tyne the haill realme of Scotland, togidder with the nobilitie thair of, for none ar ‘biddin with ws at this tyme bot nobles and

gentlemen: so I contend, it is not decent for ws to hazard our selffis with ane old croked carle and ane number of soutteris and tailyouris; but better it war to caus the king to remove ane certane of his lordis with him, whom he thinkis most expedient to tak the matter in hand, and hazard themselffis for the kingis pleasour and their owin honour, and the commoun weill of the countrie at this tyme, and if your lordschipes will conclud in this maner, I hold it best in my opinion." Be the lord Lindsay had voted in this manner, the haill lordis consented to his conclusion, and thairto nominat certaine lordis to tak the battell in hand, that is to say, the earle of Huntlie in the north, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Crawford, and the earle of Marschell; and in the wast part of Scotland, the earle of Glencairne, the lord Grahame, the lord Maxwell; and in the south the earle of Angus, the earle Bothwell, the lord Home: thir to be the rulleris of the kingis hoast, and to fight against Ingland, and the king to pass with certane of his nobilitie, ane litle from the armie, quhair he might sie the valiant actis on both sydis. This being concludit with the wholl lordis, the king being near hand by, as I have schawin yow befoir, burst furth, vnhappilie, saying, "My lordis, I

sall fight this day with Ingland, and ye had all sworne the contrair, yea altho' ye wold leive me and flie, and shame your selffis, ye sall not shame me as ye devyse; and as to lord Patrik Lindsay, that hes given the first vott, I awow to God I sall nevir sie Scotland sooner, nor I sall caus hing him over his awin yett." Thus the lordis war astonished at the kingis answeir, sieing him in ane furie, war faine to satisfie his pleasour, and serve his appetit in all things as he commandit.

Be this the watchmen schew the king that the Inglisch armie was cuming near vnto him, within the spaice of ane Scottis myll. Then the king commandit irfullie and furiouslie to sound his trumpettis, and put his men in ordour of battell: to witt, he gave the vangaird to my lord Huntlie, and to my lord Home, who war in number aucht thousand men, and took the great battell to himselff, with all the wholl nobilitie of Scotland, who exceeded not twentie thousand men; and merched fordward ane litle in the sicht of the Inglisch armie, who war then cuming over the bridge to thame. Then the maister gunner cam to the king on his knies, desiring licence to schott his ordnance at the Inglisch armie, quhill they war cuming over the bridge of Lyll, quhair he promised,

under the paine of deid, that he sould cutt the bridge, quhair the greatest prease of Inglis armie was; for he said he had stelled his canones for that effect, and thairby sould destroy and droun the most pairt of thame. The king answered this gunner, Robert Borthwick, lyk to ane man bereft of all witt and judgment, saying, " I sall caus hang the and quarter the if thou schott a schott this day, for I will have thame all in plaine feildis befor me, and assay thame, quhat they can doc." Be this the Inglismen war all cum over the bridge, and the vangairdis war near marching togidder, and the trumpettis soundit, and the vangairdis joyned, to witt the earle of Huntlie, and the lord Home, with bordereris and countrie men to the number of aught thousand men, and on the other syd, the Inglis vangaird, quhairin was my lord Pearce, and my lord Westmoreland, with all the haill bordereris and countrie men thair-of, in lyk manner. Quhilk pairties joyned with ane terrible and cruel reard, and great slauchter maid on both the sydis at the first assault. The bowmen, and they with tuo handit swordis, defendit thamselffis verrie manfullie, who war in the earle of Huntlie and the lord Hoomes companie. Yitt nevirtheles be sound of trumpett they retired verrie wari-

lie, with litle skaith, to thair standart againe. Be this the tua great battellis of England cam fordward vpoun the king and his battell, and joyned verrie awfullie, and fought verrie furiouslie, ane lang time, bot at the last the kingis host defenced the tuo armiees, and pat thame back. Then the great battell of Ingland, led be the lord Howard, who was vnder his father the earle of Surrey, governour of that battell, who cam furiouslie vpoun the king againe, with tuentie thousand fresch fightand men, and the kingis battell met thame, and encountered them verrie hardlie, and fought verrie cruellie a long space, with vncertaine victorie, quhill the streames ran with blood quhair they war. The earle of Huntlie and the lord Home standing in arrayed battell, who had wone the vangaird befor, and verrie few aither hurt or slaine of thame, the earle of Huntlie desired my lord Home, that he would reskue the king in his extremitie, sieing he was oversett with multitudes of men. Bot the lord Home answeired, "He does weill that does for himself, for we have foughten our vangaird and wone the same, and thairfor latt the rest doe thair pairtis as weill as we have done." The earle of Huntlie said again, "he could not sie his native prince to be overcum with

his enemies befoir his eyne ;” for his awin pairt, thairfoir, he called his men togidder by slug-horne, and sound of trumpet, to have passed to the king, bot or he cam all was defaitt, and verrie few alyve, aither of the kingis syd, or his enemies. Some sayes, thair cam four great men vpoun hors, and every ane of thame had ane wisp vpoun thair spear headis, quhairby they might knaw otheris the sooner, if they happened to be separat, and brought the king furth of the feild, vpovn ane dun hakney ; and sum sayes, they had him in the Mers betuixt Dunse and Kelso. Quhat they did with him I cannot tell. But ten yeires thairefter ane certane man being convict of his lyff for slauchter, offered to the duik of Albanie to latt him sie the place quhair the king was buried, and for the greater evidence, his yron belt besyd him in the grave. Bot this man gott no audience be thame that was about him, and the duik of Albanie desired not that sick things should be knawin. Bot we will returne to our purpose.

The feildis being discomfited in this maner on both the sydes ; for nather Ingland nor Scotland knew who had the victorie at that tyme, except the Scottismen tint thair king, who may be justlie said to have tint himself, throw his awin raschnes and greater foolhardj.

nes, nor was requisit in a king: for the Inglis-
men war rekoned to be thryse als manie in
number as the Scottismen, and so manie of
thame as war left alyve, retired thamselffis to
the earle of Surrey, and the lord Howard his
sone: and retired that night ane little from the
feild, and fled that night on their foottes,
quhill on the morne at nyne houris, not know-
ing who had wone or tint the feild. And in
lyk maner, the lord Home stood all that night
on his foott, quhill on the morne, with aught
thousand men with him; and on the morne he
hearing no din nather of Scottismen nor In-
glisemen, he depairted and left the kingis ar-
tillarie in the feildis behind him, quhilk he
might have reskued and brought with him if
he pleased.

The Inglisemen hearing that the lord Home
was retired, they conveyned the number that
they might be, and had away the kingis artil-
larie with tham to Barvick, quhair meikle of
it remaines to this day; and syne they cam
throw the feild seiking thair noble and princi-
pall men that war slaine, and to have spyed
if they could have seine the king of Scotland.
Bot they could not find him, albeit they fand
sundry in his luferay; for the same day of the
feild he caused ten to be in his awin luferay,

lyk vnto his awin present apperrell, amonges quhom was tuo of his awin guard: the on called Alexander M'Cullo, and the vther the squyer of Cleisch, who war both verrie lyk in makdome to the king; and so they tuik ou of thame, whom they thought lykest to the king, and kest him in ane chariott, and had him with thame into England; bot trew it is they gott not the king, becaus they had nevir the token of his yron belt to schow to no Scottisman.

This sorrowful battell was stricken and endit at Flowdone hill the nynth day of September the yeir of God 1513 yeires, and of his rigne the twentie fyve yeir.

James the Feird unhappilie slaine in this manner, with manie of his nobles, not by the wisdom or manhood of Inglismen, bot by the kingis awin wilful misgovernance, who wold vse no counsall of his nobles in defence of his honour, and preserving of his armie: bot vsed his awin sensuall pleasoures, quhilk is war the cause of his vtter ruine. Thairfoir all other princes sould tak example be this wilfull and incounsallable prince; for although he was the head, they war the bodie, without the quhilk he could not stand, quhilk was also a part of the occasioun of the death of this

stout and manlie prince, who not onlie was the caus of his awin death, but of all his nobilitie and barrones, etc. for this was als cruell ane feild for on as evir was stricken betuixt Scotland and England. Bot we will latt him rest with God, and speak of his sone king James the Fyft, etc.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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OF KING JAMES THE FYFT, AND QUHAT HAP-
PENED IN HIS MINORITIE AND THE REST OF
HIS TYME.

JAMES the Fyft being of the aige of tuo yeires, who then be the adwyse of the lordis was crowned at Stirling, and thaireafter was in government and keiping with his mother Margaret, queine of Scotland, who caused chose ane guard to be about hir sone, for saifguard of his bodie; to witt, my lord Evandail, and his brother. In this mean tyme, king Harie the Aucht cam out of France quhan he had obteint his pensioun, and hearing of the king of Scotland his guid brotheris death, he was verrie heavilie commoved thairat; and gave command to his nobles and barones, that non of them sould invaid nor trouble Scotland the tyme of the kingis minoritie, vnder the paine of treasone, and this he commandit straitlie, and sett forth lettres thairvpoun, for love of

his sister and his sister sone; thinkand that nothing sould fail on his syd of the band that was maid betuixt the king of Scotland and him, notwithstanding the borderis of Scotland was ever doing quhat they might to break the same.

Bot sone thairefter thair cam great troubles in Scotland amongst thamselffis, pairtlie, for the authoritie who sould be hiest, and have the realme in government, and pairtlie for old feid and slauchter committit in king James the Feirdistyme. They thought it was tyme than to quyt commones in the prince's minoritie: for James earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, pretendit hiest in this realme to have the government thair of: thinkand that he was nearest of blood to the kingis grace in the realme of Scotland at that tyme. But yitt the rest of the lordis onnowayes could be content that he sould have any preheminance so long as the queine keiped her widow head, and hir bodie cleane from licherie.

Bot schort quhill efter the earle of Angus frequented the court, and appeired most lustie in the queine's sight, for shoe loved him verrie weill, and so tuik him to be hir husband, by the adwyse and counsall of the lordis, for they knew nothing thair of a long tyme thairefter.

Than the earle of Arrane, having knowledge of the queine's proceedingis, assembled his kinsfolkis and freindis togidder, and past to Edinburgh, and desired the lordis to ane conventioun, saying to thame that the queine had tint hir government of the prince and auctoritie of the countrie, because shoe had takin ane husband by the consent of hir lordis, thairfor desired thame that he might have the auctoritie perteaning to him as nearest of blood. The lordis hearing this, would conclude nothing at this tyme quhill they war fardder adwysed.

In this mean tyme the earle of Angus gatt word of this conventioun, and quhat was thair intention thairintill, he cam-peirtlie to the toun of Edinburgh, with all his kine and freindis, quhilkis wer to the number of fyve hundredreth speares, weill accompanied and arrayed with jack and spear, and lodged in Edinburgh for that night. Bot als soone as the earle of Arrane and bischop James Beatoun, and the rest of thair complices, gat witt that the earle of Angus was cum to the toun, gart steik the portis of the toun, thinking that he might easilie have takin the earle of Angus, and not knowing that a great companie of his kine and freindis was with him. But they being

adverteised thairof, watched starklie that night quhill on the morne, and cam and schew the earle of Angus quhat provisioun was making for him, that, if he passed not manfullie to the gaitt and defendit himselff, he wold be takin out of his lodging be his enemies, and led captive quhair they pleased. So this young lord haisted him to his armour, and caused his freindis and servandis to doe the same, and went richt peartlie to the gaitt, and stood aboue the Nether Bow, in arrayed battell. But Mais-ter Gawin Douglas passed to sie if he could find any guid wayes betuixt the tuo pairties, and in speciall, he passed to bishop James Be-ton, quhair he was in the Blak Freir Kirk for the tyme, and the said Mr Gawin desired him to tak sum paines to labour betuixt thir tuo pairties, quhilk was at ane scharp poynt, and meaning little lese than that the bischope had most pairt the wyte thairof. Bot the bi-schop answeired him againe with ane oath, chopping on his breast, saying, "Be my conscience, my lord, I knaw not the matter." But when Mr Gawin hard the bischopis purga-tioun, and chopping on his breast, and per-ceaved the plettis of his jack clattring, he thought the bischop deceaved him: so Mr Gawin said to him, "My lord, your conscience

is not guid, for I hear it clattring." Off this the bischop was ashamed, and excused the matter so far as he could ; bot Mr Gawin sieing him stand in this state, he past from him to Sir Patrik Hamiltoun, brother to the earle of Arrane, and desired him that he wold speak the earle of Arrane, his brother, and that he wold be content that my lord Angus sould pas to the castle and speak with the queine's grace, and thairefter depairt out of the toun bot molestation of any man. At the quhilk requeist Sir Patrik past to his brother, my lord Arrane, and schew him my lord Angus desir, quhair of the earle of Arrane was weill contentit, that my lord Angus sould doe his busines at his pleasour, and pas aff the toun quhen he list, bot any trouble or molestatioun, and this be the earnest solistatioun of Sir Patrik Hamiltoun, his brother. Bot Sir James Hamiltoun his sone, that bloodie butcheour, evir thriland for bloode, was on nowayes content of this appoyntment, bot raged at the said Sir Patrik for his laboures, saying he had no will to fight in his freindis quarrell, thocht it war nevir so just : At thir wordis the said Sir Patrik was so greived, that he answered Sir James, saying, " Thow lies, bastard smaik, I dare fight quhair thow dare not be seine this day." With this they both rushed out of thair

ludgingis rudlie to the gaitt in ane furious rage. Bot when the earle of Angus saw thame cuming, and perceaved Sir Patrik Hamiltoun forrest, and with him the maister of Montgomerie, and saw them in sick ane furie, he knew weill thair was nothing bot fighting, and cryed to his men to saife Sir Patrik Hamiltoun if they might ; bot he came so far befor the rest that he was slaine haistilie, and with him the maister of Montgomerie, with sundrie other gentlmen, to the number of tuelf score and tuelf persones. It was foughtin verie hardlie on both sydis ane langspace, till my lord Arrane and his men being oppressed with numbers, for the queine's favoureris in the toun cam in at the broad syd and suddenlie incompast him, gave backis and wan away out throche the Northe Loche, and Sir James Hamiltoun narrowlie eschaped out throche the Northe Loche also ; so fighting throw them verrie manfullie, with great danger, he retired aff the toun himself, and Bischop James Beatoun fled to the Black Freir Kirk, and thair was takin out behind the alter, and his rockit rivin aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr Gawin Dowglas requeisted for him, saying, it was shame to put hand in ane consecrat bischop. So he was saiff at that tyme. Thair-

after the earle of Angus past to the castle and spok with the queine at his pleasour : And sa the Dowglassis keiped both the gaitt and thair honouris, quhilk wes called in Edinburghe to this hour, *Cleyng Calsey*, quhilk was struken in the yeir of God 1515 yeires : off the quhilk advantage the earle of Angus grew verrie proud and insolent, thinking, who evir had richt to the auctoritie, he sould be vpmost. To that effect he cherished all theifis and tratouris, both in Annerdail and Liddisdail, so that his companie, quhair evir they past, maid gritt hirschip, thift, and slauchter ; and in speciall in Mers and Lothiane, quhair the lord Home and his freindis had dominion. The lord thair of being ane wyse naturall man, considdered the earle of Angus' proceidingis, and the great love and favour he had of the queine, and the advantage quhilk he had gottin of my lord Arrane ; if he reached any fardder but a fall, that he would overrun all the wholl countrie.

The lord Home, I say, sieing this, he sett his intent to put remeid thairto, and conveyed ane counsall be his moyane, of the most pairt of the nobilitie, at Edinburgh, schowand to thame that the realme was evill guidit and overharled be my lord Angus and his men on

the ane pairt, and be my lord Arrane on the other pairt, stryveand daylie for the auctoritie, albeit non of thame had richt thairto: thairfoir desired thair wisdomes that they would send to France for the duik of Albanie, who was righteous governour off the realme, and desir him to cum and ressaive the auctoritie and guidschip of the countrie, and to put or-dour induring the tyme of the kingis minoritie. The lordis hearing this, the chancellour answeired my lord Home saying, " My lord, the duik of Albanie is ane French man borne. Though he be nearest of blood to have the governance of this realme, yitt he hes not the language, nor knawis not the nature of our countrie, nor the lawis thairof, so weill as our awin lordis that ar borne at home in Scotland. Thairfoir I think best, in my opinion, to chuse ane of our awin lordis, who vnderstandis ws and we him, and knawis the qualities of Scotland." Fardder, the chancellour nominat tua, to witt, the earle of Arrane and the earle of Lennox. Bot the lord Home answeired the chancellour verrie scharplie againe, and said, " My lord, trow yea, or ony lord that is hear, at this tyme to defraud the duik of Albanie of his just title and richt of the government be your alledgance, or ony other motive that yea can propone at this tyme. I assure yow he sall

and will cum in Scotland in disphyght of all thame that wold the contrair; and if he comes not schortlie of his awin will, I sall pas for him my selfe." The chancellour and the rest of the lordis, sieing my lord Home's fervence in the duik of Albanie's caus, the speired at the lord Home if he wold subscribe first the duik of Albanie's electioun to the government of the realme, and they wold follow syne and subscribe with him. The lord Home answered and said, he wold with ane guid will: and immediatlíe he subscribed the said electioun. Then all the rest of the lordis and barrones subscribed, and directit thair commissioun with Sir Andro Wood of Largo, to France, to the duik of Albanie, desiring the said duik to cum in Scotland and receive the government thair of, according to his just title, and thair electioun and thair hand writtis givin thairvpoun.

Sir Andro Wood dressed his schipis, and maid him readie to doe his message.

In this meane tyme, Andro Forman, bischope of Murray and legat of Scotland, had monie of the benefices in his handis, be reasone he was legatt and principall of the bishoprick of St Androis, who had provydit the breives thair of to himself, but he on no wayes could gett tham proclaimed, nor durst not intend the

same for feare of the Hepburnes, becaus prior Johne Hepburne was at that tyme prior generall of St Androis, and vptuik the proffessouris thair of; for he nor non of his freindis had no will that bischope Formanes breives should be proclaimed, bot stopped thame with all thair power, that nather in St Androis nor Edinburgh no man durst intimat nor proclame thame for feare of the said prior Johne Hepburne. This bischope Forman sieing this, maid his mone to my lord Home, schowand to him that he was ane Mers man borne, and all his kine and freindis, quhairfoir desired him that he wold caus proclame his breifes, and fortifie him againes the Hepburnes. To that effect he gave him the pryorie of Coldinghame, quhilk was vaikand, to give his brother, be reasoun that he was legatt for the tyme. The lord Home sieing bischop Formanes liberalitie towardis him, caused his brother, Mr Williame, pas to Edinburgh, with the number of ten thousand men, and thair proclame the said bischope's breives, contrair the Hepburnes; and also passed to St Androis and did the lyk, and gave the said bischope possession of the said bischoprick. But pryor Johne Hepburne hearing this, conveyined his freindis and assistance that he had of the gentlemen of Fyfe, and manned the abbey kirk of

St Androis, that he on nawayes wold latt the said bischop enter thairin but at his pleasour : and lykwayes he keipit the castle againes him, so that the bischope could gett no entres nather in kirk nor castle. The bischop sieing this, thought weill that geir wold mak the matter evin betuixt thame, caused his freindis labour to that effect to satisfie the pryor and his greidie appetite, and gave him ane benefice of thrie thousand pundis, to give among his freindis, and satisfied him in this maner. Bot pryor Johne conceaved sick hatred at the Homes for taking pairt with bischope Forman againes him, that his malice and envie was never quenched so long as the lord Home and his brother war alive.

In this meane tyme Sir Andro Wood passed to France, and shew the duik of Albanie his commissioun that he had from the lordis of Scotland, and speciallie from the lord Home, desiring him effectuously to cum in Scotland, as I have schowin befor, and thair to receave the government thair of, that justice may be ministrat according to the lawis of the realme. Off this message and commissioun the duik of Albanie was verrie glaid, and thanked Sir Andro Wod greatlie, and rewairdit him richlie for his labouris, and syne passed to the king

of France and asked his licence thairto, etc.: schowand to him quhat commissioun was brought to him from the lordis of Scotland, desiring him to pas in Scotland and be governor thairof; desiring the king of France for support of men and money to pas with him in Scotland, quhilk was granted to him verrie frielie, and als meikle money and men effeirand thairto as he wold desir, and was verrie sorrowfull of his departur out of France, becaus he was sick ane man of warre that he left not his maik in all the land behind him. Notwithstanding, the duik of Albanie tuik the sea with fyve hundreth men of warre, and twentie four able gentlemen in his guard, togidder with munitioun, poudre and bullettis, sick as he might furnisch at that tyme. So he pulled vp sailles to pas in Scotland; bot the Inglismen knew of his cuming, and maid for him to have foughtin with him, bot he was so weill artailed, and his schip so weill maned, that they durst not meitt him, becaus they knew him to be ane noble man of warre, they leitt him pas without any impediment. So he cam haistilie in Scotland, and landed in Leith in the moneth of Maij, anno forsaide, who was honorable and verrie hairtilie receaved in Scotland be the nobilitie and com-

mounes thairof, thankand God they had gottin on of the blood royall to rigne over thame, and to protect thame in the kingis minoritie.

So incontinent the lordis conveyned at Edinburgh, and sett ane parliament that the duik of Albanie might be receaved as protectour and governour. This parliament was sett in the moneth of Julij, anno forsaide, at Edinburgh, be consent of the queine and wholl nobilitie, spirituall and temporall: and in effect the duik of Albanie was admitted governour of Scotland, and thairto maid the othe of fidelitie to him, to be leill and trew and obedient to his auctoritie, and to the kingis majestie, in defence of the commounweill and ministratioun of justice induring the kingis minoritie; and lykwayes maid his oath to thame in presence of the wholl parliament, that he should be true to God and thair king, and to thame, and to minister justice equallie to great and small, without exceptioun of persones; to defend the commoun weill and libertie of the realme so far as lay in his power. This being done, the wholl nobles and commonnes rejoyced in the duik of Albanie's presence, becaus they had so long wanted ane head to governe thame, thinkand that thair wold be no debait nor stryff in the countrie vnpunished,

bot they wold knaw quhom to they wold plenyie quhen any wrong was done in the countrie.

This pryor Johne Hepburne of St Androis clame nixt the governour, and grew great in court, and remembrit on old feid and invy betuixt him and the Homes, and also bischope Forman, and shew the duik, who was than governour, of the secreittis and demeritis of the lord Home and his father and brother, and in speciall how the lord Home and his father had vsed thamselffis towardis the duikis father in tyme of thair banischment, with all vther secreittis and inventiones that he could invent contrair the lord Home and his brother, and caused the governour to luik down on thame; and also shew how bischope Forman had gathered all the substance of Scotland be his legacie, and caused the governour to sture at him, quhilk caused the bischope to give over manie benefices, and in speciall, the bischoprik of Murray and abbacie of Scone, quhilk he gave to his brother Alexander, who joyssed the same, ane lang tyme heirafter, the abbacie of Melros, with many other benefices he gave vnto the governour to win his favouris.

In this meane tyme the governour past throw the countrie to danton all thift, reiff,

and slauchter, committit befoir in the kingis minoritie ; but when he cam to Jedwart, Kelso, and Melrose, and hard the complaintes of the people and the inhabitantis thair of, and especiall vpoun the earle of Angus, my lord Hoome, and vther gentlmen who had oppressed the countrie in the tyme when thair was no justice ministrat for lak of ane heid to pleanye vnto, the governour, hearing thir heaue complaintes, was verrie sorrowfull in heart, settand his intent to remeid the samyne. Howbeit the great lordis could not be content thairwith : yitt he passed fordwardis to Dumfreis, and to the toun of Air, and to the wastland, and thair he hard of the cruell slauchter betuixt the lord Montgomerie, and the lord Kilmauris, and the lord Sempill, etc. : and finallie, he passed to the north of Scotland, and hard the plentes thair in lykmaner, and syne returned to Edinburgh, and thair adwysed with his counsall quhat was best to be done in this matter, and how he might best punisch the injuries done be the lordis, quhilk he thought was overmeikle to tak in hand to punisch thame opinlie : bot if he had beine more power nor he was, considerring himself to be bot ane stranger, and knew not the native nor qualities of thame, and how Scottisemen cannot byd extreme judgment nor justice ;

thairfoir he concludit with himselff that he wold continew the prosecutione and persute of justice on thame, quhill he thought better tyme : and incontinent sent to the king of France showing the manner how Scottis-men war all alyed with vtheris, and thair blood so mixt, that everie ane of thame tuik pairt with vtheris so againes him, that thei thought him bot ane stranger, and wold not be content that he vsed justice vpoun thame, nor he wold not attempt the same except he had more power : and thairfoir requeisted his grace that he wold support him with men for the weill and honour of the realme of Scotland : quho pleasantlie obeyed the governouris chaarge and requeist, and send him thrie schipes furnished with men, money, and amunitioun, and landit in the wast seas.

The lordis, heiring word that the governour was myndfull to punisch thair faultis, and for that effect had support coming out of France, incontinent they laid thair headis togidder, and conveyed ane counsall at Glasgow, quhair many of the lordis assemblit, to the number of twelff thousand men : to witt, the earle of Angus, the lord Hooime, the earle of Arrane, with all the wholl lordis of the Wastland ; for thair was no wastlandman away except the earle of Lennox and the lord Erskine, who

was in Stirling with the prince. So the lordis hearing tell of the thrie schipes that cam out of France to the governour, thairfoir sent ane thousand men to the shipes to stop thair landing. Bot they war landit and away or they cam: bot yitt they gatt sum of the cairtes with the poudre and bullettis, and brought thame to Glasgow with thame, and for dispyte kest thame in ane new draw well.

When thir newis cam to the governour, that the lordis had vsed him so, and risin vp againes him, he awowed to God that he should be revengit vpoun thame, and of thair contemptioun done to him, or at the least on thame that war the occasioun of the same. So the governor past haistilie to Glasgōw, intending to caus thame leive the toun or els to fight, or he himselff die thairfoir: and so he spurred haistilie to Glasgow toun to sie if he might dres the lordis to obey thair magistrat. But bischope Andro Forman went befoir thame to Glasgow, to intreat and sollicite the lordis to obey thair righteous governour and magistrat as became thame, and reasoned with thame in manner following, saying, “ I marvell of your inconstancie my lordis, towardis your prince and governour: Why have yea risin so againes him, and hes destroyed his poudre and bullettis in plaine contemptioun,

showing your selfis so rebellious againes him, that he on nawayes can be content without obedience and amendment of your proceedingis in tymes to cum." To this the lordis answeired, saying, " He is nocht our governour, nor we know not whidder he be ane Scotisman or ane Frenchmanes sone, or giue he hes richt to our auctoritie or not." To this answeired bischope Forman saying, " I marvell of your wisdomes that wold not consider the matter at the first tyme, when yea send for him to France be your hand writtis and commissioun, and syne thairefter receaved him in Scotland thankfullie, and gave your oathis of fidelitie to him, to mantaine him to execute justice according to the lawis of the realme, and now yea have rissin againes him bot ony caus or motioun maid on his pairt to yow. Thairfoir I counsall yow to leive sick thingis in tymes cuming, and to obey your governor as yea ought to doe in all honest affaires, according to justice, for the weillfair of the countrie, and to give your prince that obedience as to leive the toun at this tyme, that he may repose him a litle hear, as yea have done, and if yea wilbe wilfull, and not consent heirto, he will aither have it, or els fight with yow, although yea war ten thousand men moe nor he, for he

cares yow not in his just quarrell." The lordis hearing the wordis of bischope Forman, consulted togidder, and promiseit to leive the toun at the governouris coming, vpoun conditiones following: That is, that the governour should remitt all byganes, and to receave thame in tymes cuming as guid subjectis to the kingis grace and to him, and nevir to call thame for no thingis by past. The quhilk the bischope promiseit in the governouris name that it sould be so. Then they left the toun, and past thairfra, that the governour might have frie entrie thairin, who ludged thair that night, and on the morne past to Stirling and visited the kingis grace: syne went to Edinburgh, and remained thair till all the lordis came and maid thair obedience, and gatt ane remissioun for all thingis bygane. Bot yitt the governour remembrit on thame when he saw his tyme. The earle of Angus was stollin quyettlie out of his ludging and had to the shipes, and convoyed quyettlie to France, and remained thair a seasoun bot knowledge of any Scottisman, scantlie knawing quhat place of the world he was in.

In this meane tyme the governour callit ane conventioun at Edinburgh, to compeir for the effaires of England, and especiallie he wrott

for the lord Hoom and his brother, Mr Williame, becaus they best knew the affaires of Ingland. The wholl lordis appeired at Edinburch, the day appoyntted, and amongst the rest the lord Home and his brother, who wold not enter in the Abbey with the rest, quhill on the morne, that his brother was called be the governour, who desired the lord Home to send ane token for him to that effect, that he might cum to the counsall, becaus he knew the affaires and proceedings of Ingland best of ony man, thairfoir the governour thought he would send him ambassadour to Ingland: Quhilk moved the lord Home to send ane ring aff his finger to his brother, quhilk was ane privie token betuixt thame, and incontinent he cam befor the counsall: and als soone as he entred the Abbay the gaittes war closed, and the Frenchmen start to their harneis, and laid handis on the lord Home and his brother, and pat thame in prisone; and they had the said maister Williame to the schipis, and pat him in the castle of Inchgarvie, and keipit the lord Home still in the Abbey, whyll they summondat ane assyze, and convicted thame of treasone, and thairefter strak the headis from thame. Thir novellis cam to France, to the earle of Angus, that the lord Home and his

brother war forfait and beheadit, quhair of he was verrie sorrie, thinking himself no lese culpable then the lord Home, considering that he was participant of sick thingis, and of crymes of les majestie as they war; thairfoir convoyed himself quyetlie out of France in Ingland, quhair he was weill received, for the queine of Scotlandis caus, becaus he was hir husband. Thairefter the queene of Scotland gatt word that hir husband the earle of Angus was com to Ingland, and passed all danger of France, quhair of shoe was greatlie rejoyced, for shoe was great with chyld to him, almost at the delyverance. Notwithstanding, for luv shoe bure to hir husband and desir shoe had to speak with the king of Ingland hir brother, shoe left the king hir sone in the castle of Stirling, in keiping of the captane and his gaird, that war about him, and took hir voyage and past to London, quhair shoe was weill receaved be king Harie, hir brother, and remained thair at hir pleasour, and gatt all thingis from the king that shoe wold ask or desir; and schortlie efter shoe was delyvered of ane dochter called ladie Margaret, who remained evir in Ingland, intending title to the croun be hir or hir successioun. This being done, queine Margaret, with hir husband the earle of Angus,

returned in Scotland, with great supplicatiounes from king Harie to the governour of Scotland, to receave the earle of Angus in his favouris, and to remitt all byganes; quhilk request the governour took in guid pairt, and granted all thingis that the queine wold desir in the king of Inglandis name; and so he acceptit the earle of Angus in his favouris, and took his oath that he sould be trew to the kingis grace, and to himselff.

This being done, the realme stood in good tranquillitie and peace, and the nobles obeyed the prince as they ought in all civill matteris, quhairthrow the commounweill flourished ane long tyme; quhill at the last the king of France sent letteris in Scotland to the governour, desiring him to cum and speak with him in haist, for sick affaires as he had to doe with him for the tyme. So the governour pat the realme to guid ordour and peace, and so depairted to France, and left Monsieur Tillibatie in his place, quhill he returned from France, and gave him command to vse justice equallie to all men. So he passed with his schipis and passed his way, etc.

In this meane tyme Monsieor Tillibatie being left regent, as we have schowin, remained in the Abbey of Hallruidhous, and ane guard

of Frenchmen about him, to the number of four-scoir halberteris, to be readie at his command.

In this meane tyme, thair was ane gentlman in Edinburgh, namit Williame Meldrum, laird of Bines *, who had ane fair ladie with him, called the ladie Glengeis, who was ane dochter to Mr Richard Lawsons, proveist of Edinburgh, the quhilk ladie had borne tua bairnes to the said laird, and intendit to marie hir if he might purchase the Pope's license, becaus they were sib. Notwithstanding, ane gentlman called Lues Stirling invyed the love and marriage betuixt thir tuo personages, thinkand to have the gentlwoman in mariage to himselff, becaus he knew the laird of Bines might not have hir richtlie be the Pope's lawis. Thairfor he solisted his brother sone, the laird of Keir, with ane certane companie of armed men, to set vpoun the laird of Bines, to tak his ladie from him be way of deid ; and to that effect followed him betuixt Leith and Edinburgh, and set on him beneath the Rid Chappell, with fyftie armed men, and he againe defendit himselff with fyve in number, and fought with him, and slew the laird of Keires principall servand, and hurt the laird of Keir to the perrill of deid, and tuentie sax of his

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* Probably in the county of Fife.

men hurt and slaine. Bot this William Meldrum of Bines was evill martyred, for his hochis war cutted, and the knoppis of his el-bowis war strikin aff, and was strikin throw the bodie, so thair was no signe of lyff in him, Yitt be the mightie power of God, he eschaped the death, and leived fyftie yeires thair-
after.

In this meane tyme Monseour Tillibatie gatt word, quhain he was in the Abbey of Hallirudhous, that sick ane nobleman was murdered at his hand, so he incontinent caused sound his trumpetis, and rang the comoun bell, commanding all men to follow him both on hors and foott, that he might revenge that villanous fact; and cam pertlie fordward to the place quhair the tuilzie was foughtin, and fand this Williame lyand for dead, and his men about him, and followed verrie fercleie efter thair enemies, and overhyed thame at Linlithgow, and forced thame to tak ane peill hous in Linlithgow, for saistie of thair lyves, think and thamselvs suir thairin. Bot this noble regent iap manlie about the hous, and seidgit it evir till he constrained thame to render the same, and thairefter tuik thame and brought thame altogidder to Edinburgh, and gave thame ane fair assyse; and thairby condemned

thame for the said cryme, and war put in the castle of Edinburgh, to be in suire keiping, to be at the governouris will.

Efter this Monsieour Tillibatie went to the Mers and to the toun of Dunce, to hold ane justice court, and was convoyed be the lairdis of Sesfoord and Phernehirst, who said to him that they sould give him the convoy saiflie to Edinburgh againe. Bot the laird of Wedderburne and his companie invyed Monsieour Tillibatie, for the duik of Albanies caus, and sieing that he was left in sic ane place, he thought he sould be avengit on him, and wached Tillibatie, regent for the tyme, quhill he gatt him at ane outsyd, and sett on Tillibatie. Bot Tillibatie, fearing ane conspiracie, he spurred his hors, and fled towardis the castle of Dunbar, thinking to have wone away, becaus he was weill horsed. Bot being ane stranger, and not knawing the ground weill, he laired his hors in ane mos, and thair his enemies cam vpoun him, and slew and murdered him verrie vnhonestlie, and cutted aff his head, and carried with thame. And it was said that he had long hair plett in his neck, quhilk David Home of Wedderburne knitt to his saidle bow, and kept it.

Incontinent thairefter word cam to the duik of Albanie, that Monsieour Tillibattie, whom he had left governour of Scotland, was slaine : so he passed to the king of France and shew him the manner how it was, and how that no civill man nor guid governour might leive in Scotland, quhairat the king of France was heavilie displeased, and said to the duik of Albanie, “ My lord yea did evill that wold not substitute ane Scottisman govirnour in your place, till your returning: for I wist weill they wold invy ane French man for your sake. Nevirtheles be yea of guid comfort, I sall support and manteine yow to revenge that quarrell.” and sua assuadged the duik of Albanie’s ire, and tuik counsall of his wyse captanes, quhat was best to be done, in revenging of his caus, quho gave him counsall to seik support at the king of France, and to pas haistilie in Scotland, and revenge the slauchter of Monsieour Tillibattie; dreadand the longer he stayed he sould have the more adoe, and manie enemies start vp againes him in Scotland. To this counsall the duik of Albanie consented, and past haistilie to the king of France, and askit support of him to pas in Scotland for sick causis as he had schowin to his grace. The king of France obeyit this requeist, and caused fur-

nisch him thrie great shipes, quhairin war thrie thousand men, weill furnisched with all sick thingis as concerned thame, for the space of ane yeir. So the duik of Albanie tuik his leive of the king of France, and landit saiflie in Scotland the saxt day thairefter. He maid gritt persecutioun on the Homes, and speciallie on the laird of Wedderburnes freindis, who was principall slayer of Tillibatie. Bot on no wayes could he apprehend himselff personalie, nor yitt wold he compeir befoir his Justice, but fled in Ingland, and remained thair als long as the duik of Albanie remained in Scotland. Notwithstanding the duik of Albanie, governour forsaide, past through Scotland and vsed justice to all men, as effeired him ; and raised ane armie in winter, and past to the wast border, and thair thought to have seidgit Carleil. Bot the lord Dacres and he appoynted vpoun all debaites and redrese of the borderis, so he continewed the seidge, and passed home. And on the nixt yeir thairefter past to Wark and seidgit it. Bot the bordereris deceaved him, and caused his captanes to deceave him, quhilkis war all hanged when he had brasched and wone the hous. For when the Inglismen that war in the castle saw no Scottismen followand, nor backand thair cap-

tanes that cam over the wallis, they incontinent hanged thame over the wallis.

Quhen the governour saw this that the bordereris had deceived him, and wold not reskew thair captanes nor back thame, he raised his camp in ane great anger, and cam homwardis to the castle of Dunbar, and thair remained ane long space; and caused massones enter thair, and big ane great strenth, called the outward blokhous, and garnished the same with artallie, pouder, and bullettis.

In this meane tyme the maister of Hailles and the laird of Nisbet, through counsall of the Hepburnes, cruellie betrayed and slew ane innocent man, prior of Coldinghame, thinking to have done the governour ane pleasour, for the slauchter of Tillibattie.

In this mean tyme deceased bischope Andro Forman, bischope of St Androis, and legatt of Scotland; bot prior Johne Hepburne and his freindis caused tak the castle and keip the same, becaus he was vicar-general for the tyme: bot bischope James Beatoun haistilie obtained the same be way of court and authoritie, and aggried with prior Johne, and satisfied him for the same; for his viccarage and all other thingis perteaning to his office.

The kingis grace at this tyme was about ellevin yeires of aige, and the governour, the duik of Albanie, sieing the conditiones and qualities of the noblmen of Scotland to be so, that few or non might trust on another; he tuik stedfast resolutionne to pas home to France and leive thair. Quhairfoir he furnished Dumbar, and maid ane Frenchman captane thair of, callit captane Morise; and thairefter establisched the realme in this manner. He left thrie regentis to governe the same, quhill the king was tuelf yeires of aige; for than he knew weill the lordis wold chose ane new regent amongst thamselffis; quhilkis regentis war the earle of Lennox, bischope James Beatoune, and ane Frenchman called Monsieur Lufence. So the duik of Albanie tuik his leive of court and counsall, and went into France, quhairfra he returned not againe. So all the wholl tyme that the duik of Albanie remained in Scotland was fyve yeires and ane halfe.

Thus when the duik of Albanie was depairted, thair arose great troubles and deadlie feadis in many pairtis of Scotland. The maister of Forbes, in the north, slew the laird of Meldrum, vnder trysting. Lykwayes the laird of Drumalziear slew the lord Fleming at the halking.

Thir cumberis drew ovir till the king was tuelf yeires of aige, and than the lordis consulted togidder, and thought they wold bring the king to the feildis, and put the gouvèrnement in his awin handis: quhilk when the king hard of his preheminencie, he was weill content to leive correctioun at the scooles, and pas to his lordis at libertie, sua he was horsed and furnisched in all thingis perteing to ane prince, and syne brought him furth of the castle of Stirling, to the Abbey of Holirudhous; and thair he tuik vp hous with all office men requisite for his estate, and changed all the old officeris, both thesaurer, comptroller, secreitar, Mr maissar, Mr household, Mr stableris, copperis, carveris, and all the rest. And four lordis war chosin to be tutouris and governouris to the king, and all casualties sould be disponsed be thame, and remained still in companie with the king, and to give him counsall in all thingis perteaning to his honour, and the commounweill of the countrie. Quhilkis lordis war the earle of Lennox, my lord Hamiltoun, my lord Angus, and bischope James Beatoun.

The king and the lordis remained in Edinburgh and Hallirudhouse the space of ane yeir, with great triumph and mirrines, quhill

at the last thair vaiked ane benefice quhilk pat thame all at variance for the dispositioun of the same; for everie lord thought he wold be served according to his rowme and estate. But the earle of Angus warred the other thrie, for when he had gottin Dunkell, he wold have had Coldinghame, and could not be served so; bot when Hallirudhouse vaikit he wold have had it also: and shew to the lordis that he was scant of hay and hors corne when he cam to the toun; thairfoir he behoved to have that benefice with leive to find his horss meatt. The rest of the lordis considdered the earle of Angus greidines, that he wold have all thingis at his dispositioun, without any considderatioun quhat expenss they war in the kingis service. The lord Hamiltoun gatt Pasley to his sone, but the earle of Lennox gatt nothing, quhairfoir he tyrred of the court and went home to his awin countrie, and so did my lord Hamiltoun within short space thairefter. Bot bischope James Beatoun, who was the feird lord, remained still in Edinburgh, in his awin ludging, quhilk he biggit in the Frieris Wynd, for he might not pas out of the toun becaus he was chancellour for the tyme, and satt in the seatt of Justice, and cam no more to the court bot as he was sent for. Thus the earle

of Angus guydit the king and court at his pleasour, and maid his eyme, Archibald Douglas, thesaurer, and George, his brother, Mr Houshold to the king, and himselff great leiftenment of Scotland. Bot nevirtheles, the queine pairted with him, and ane litle quhill efter married Harrie Stewart, brother to my lord Evandaill, and maid him Lord Mefven. Yitt not the les the earle of Angus tuik litle regaird thairof, bot abod at court, and guydit all as he pleased, and caused the king ryd throw the countrie and hold justice courtis, and punisch theives and briggantis, and caused stryk conzie of his awin: to witt, ane grott of the valour of aughteine pence, quhilk efterward was callit the Douglas groatt, and non that tyme durst stryve againes a Douglas nor Douglas' man. So he rang a verrie long tyme verrie ambitiouslie, without any controlment.

In this meane tyme thair was ane cuning clark, callit Mr Patrik Hamiltoun, abott of Ferne, quho was summondit befor the counsall halldin at St Androis for the tyme, be James bischöpe Beatoun, and the rest of the clergie of Scotland, and thair was accused of herisie be the bischopis, abbottis, clarkis, gray freiris and black. His accuser was ane black freir callit Campbell, quho red his articles,

and syne said to him, " Heretick, thow sayes that it is lesum to any man to reid the word of God, and in speciall the New Testament." Mr Patrik answeired, " I said not so to my witting : bot I said, and sayis it, it is lesum to all men that hes ane saull, to reid the word of God that they may vnderstand the same, and speciallie the letter will and testament of Jesus Chryst, quhairby they may acknowledge thame of thair sines, and repent thame of the same, quhairby they may amend thair lyves be faith and repentance, and attaine to salvatioun by Chryst Jesus." " Now heretick, I sie thou affirmes the wordis of thy accusatioun." Mr Patrik answeired, " I affirme nothing bot the wordis which I have spokin in presence of this auditour."

" Now fardder, thow said it was not lesum to worschipe imagerie." Mr Patrik answeired, " I say no fardder bot as God speakis to Moses in the twentie chapter of Exodus, in the second commandement, Thow shall not mak to thy selff any gravin image, &c. Thow sall not bow down to thame nor worschip thame, &c. And also David in his Psalmes, Curss thame that ar makeris of images." Than answeired his accuser, " Knawis thow not, the buik of imagerie is the buik of

laud and prais, to put the commoun people in remembrance of his holy sanctis that wrought, for thair salvatioun." Then answeired Mr Patrik, " It ought to be the true preaching of the word of God that sould put the commoun people in remembrance of Chryst." Than sayes the accuser, " Heritick, thow sayes it is bot lost labour to pray to sanctis, and especiallie to the blessed Virgine Marie, Johnne, James, Petir, and Paull, to be the mediatoures vnto Chryst for ws." Mr Patrik answeired ; " I say with Paull, that thair is no mediatour betuene God and ws bot Chryst Jesus his sone, and whosoever he be that incallis any sanct, he derogattes so meikle of the honour he ought to Chryst Jesus." " Heretick, thow sayes, that it is in vaine to sing saull mess and derigies for thame that ar dead, quhilk is continewed in the paines of purgatorie." Mr Patrik answeired ; " Brother, I reid never in the Scriptures of sick ane place as purgatorie, nor yitt beleive I that thair is any thing can save the soull of man save onlie the blood of Chryst, quhilk ransome standis not in earthlie thingis, nather mess, mattines, nor deriegies, bot by repentance of our sines, and faith in Jesus Chryst." The accuser sayes, " My lordis, yea hear he denyes the institutioun of

the hallie kirk, and the auctoritie of our holy father, the Pope, so that we neid not to accuse him any fardder."

Then the bischopis and kirkmen concludit and gave sentence on this innocent man, and condemned him to die; and brought him furth of the abbey kirk of Sanct Androis, fornent the old colledge callit Sanct Salvitouris colledge, and thair was ane gritt fire, and ane staik and ane scaffold sett, quhairon they put this innocent man, in presence of the wholl people, and syne requyred of him if he wold recant the wordis that he had said, and him selff to burne his faggott, and his lyff should be saiff. Mr Patrik answeired; "As for my confessioun, I will not deny it for fear of your fire, for my confessioun and beleive is in Jesus Chryst: and thairfoir I will not deny it. I will rather that my bodie be brunt in this fire for confessioun of my faith in Chryst, nor that my soull should burne in the unquenchable fire of hell for denying of my faith. Bot as for the sentence and judgment pronounced againes me this day be the bischopis and doctouris, I, hear in presence of all, appeallis contrair the saidis sentences and judgmentis givin againes me, and takis me to the mercie of God: and summondis yow, Sir Frier, befor the tribunall seatt of God, within

fourtie dayes, to answeir befoir that Supreme Judge for your vrongous accusatioun contrair your conscience." Be this Mr Patrik left his speaking, and entred in prayer to God Almighty to be mercifull to the people who executed him, for thair was monie of thame ignorant, and wist not what they did; and besought Jesus Chryst to be his mediatour, and to strenthen his spirit, that his bodie might the better abyde the horrible flames of the fire prepared for him, and that the paines of that torment maid him not to swerue from any pairt of his faith: and so in the name of God he maid his oblatioun, that is, his bodie to the fire, and his soull in the handis of the great God of Heaven, and than maid ane end of his speaking: And than they laid the fire to him; bot it wold not burne nor kindle ane long tyme. Than ane baxter, called Myrtoun, ran and gatt his armes full of strae and kest in the fire to kindle it: but thair cam sick ane thud of easterne wind out of the sea, and raised the flame of fire so vehementlie, that it flew vpoun the frier who accused him, and dang him to the earth, and brunt the foir pairt of his coull; and pat him in sick a fray that he cam nevir in his ryght spiritis againe, bot wandrit about the space of fourtie dayes, and than depairted.

This cruell act of persecutioun was vsed againes this godlie man at St Androis, the yeir of God 1525 yeires, in the moneth of September.

About this tyme the king past south to Edinburgh, and held justice aires, quhair manie plaintes cam to him of reiff, slauchter, and oppressioun, bot litle justice was vsed bot the purs, for thair was manie in that countrie war the earle of Angus' kin and freindis, that gott favorable justice, quhair of the king was not content, nor non of the rest of the lordis that war about him, for they wold have had justice equallie vsed to all men; bot the earle of Angus and the rest of the Douglass' rulled yitt still as they pleased, and no man durst find fault with thair procedingis; quhair at the king was heavilie displeased, and would faine have beine out of thair handis, and for that effect he writt ane secreitt letter to the laird of Buccleugh, desiring him effectuouslie that he wold cum with all his forces, kin and freindis, and all that he might be, and meitt him at Melrose, at his home coming, and thair to tak him out of the Douglas' handis, and put him at libertie, to vse himself among the rest of the lordis as he thought expedient. This writting was send with on of the kingis owin servantis, and was receaved verrie glaidlie be the laird of Buccleugh, and was right

rejoyset to be put to sick chaarges be his prince, and did great diligence to performe the kingis wrytting; and to that effect conuein'd his wholl kine and freindis, and all that wold tak pairt with him, to meitt the king at Melros at his home coming, quhilkis war to the number of six hundreth speares, and held thamselffis verrie quyet till the king returned from Jedvart to Melrose. But when the lord Home, Sesfoord, and Pherniherst, tuik thair leives from the king, and returned home, then appeared the laird of Buccleugh and his companie in sight, in forme of arrayed battell, intending to have fulfilled the kingis petition, and thairfoir cam stoutlie fordward to the back of Hallidonhill; bot the earle of Angus, and George, his brother, and sundrie vther of thair kin and thair freindis, sieing this armie coming fordwardis, they marvelled quhat it sould meine; bot at the last, when thei knew the laird of Buccleugh, with certane of Annerdail theives with him, they war the lese afrayed, and maid thame manfullie to the feildis for thame, and said to the king, " Sir, yonder is the laird of Buccleugh, and the theives of Annerdail with him, to vnbesett your grace in the way, bot I awow to God, Sir, they sall aither fight or flie. Thairfoir, Sir, yea sall

tarrie hear, and my brother George with yow, and any vther quhom yea pleas, and I sall pas and put yon theives aff the ground, and red the gaitt to your grace, or elis die thair-foir." The king tarried still, and devysed George Douglas and sundrie vther lordis with him, sick as the earle of Lennox, the lord Erskine, and some of his awin speciall servandis, and all the rest passed with the earle of Angus to the feild againes the laird of Buccleugh: quhilk pairties joyned suddenlie, and fought cruellie ane long space with vncertane victorie; bot at the last, the lord Home hearing word of the matter, he returned againe to the king with all possible haist, and with him the laird of Sesfoord and Pherinherst, to the number of fourscoir speares, and sett on freschlie on the vtmost wing, on the laird of Buccleughis feild, and shortlie bure thame to the ground, quhilk caused the laird of Buccleugh to flie: on quhom thair followed ane chaise be the lairdis of Sesfoord and Phernherst, in the quhilk chaise the laird of Sesfoord was slaine with ane cassin spear, be ane called Evan, servand of the laird of Buccleughis. When the laird of Sesfoord was slaine the chaise ceased, and the earle of Angus returned with gritt mirrines, and thanked

God that he had eschaped as he did, and past fordward with the king. They remained all that night quhill on the morne: then they past to Edinburgh with the king, who was verrie dollorous for the slaughter of the laird of Sesfoord, and manie other gentlemen slaine be the laird of Buccleugh, to the number of four-scoir and fourteine, who died in defence of the king, and command of his wrytting; howbeit it was not knawin to everie man, quhilk caused the king to be verrie sad and dollorous, thinkand be no wayes to be quyt of the earle of Angus and his freindis. Thairfoir he sett his intent to find remedie; and for this effect he sent for bischope James Beatoun, to crave his counsall thairintill. This bischop being ane wyse man, gave him counsall to send for the earle of Lennox, to sie quhat was his mynd thairintill, becaus he was nearest of kin to the king, and of his name, thairfoir he thought him meittest of ony man to delyver him out of the earle of Angus handis. The king heiring of this, send for the earle of Lennox, and gave him power to raise his leidges for that effect, and that he sould cum to Edinburgh with all power that he might be, and tak the king out of the earle of Angus' handis perforce.

The earle of Lennox having receaved this commissioun, he was verrie glaid to obey the saînyne, and gathered all that he might be in Fyffe, Angus, Stirling and Strathern, to the number of ten thousand ; and bischope James Beatoun mett him with the most pairt of the gentlmen of Fyffe; and the maister of Kilmaures mett him with tuo thousand horsmen, and tuik his vangaird in hand and cam forwardis.

The earle of Angus hearing that the earle of Lennox and bischop James Beatoun, and the maister of Kilmaures was vpoun the feildis so great ane number againes him, considerrat weill, that it was not done bot the kingis consent, quhilk maid him to be verrie astonished. Notwithstanding, he resolved with himself aither to doe or die, and send to all his freindis, and in speciall to my lord Home, Phernihirst, and also to my lord Hamiltoun, schawing him that the earle of Lennox his enemye was gathered againes him, to tak the king out of his handis, beseikand him to support him in that caus, quhilk was for his awin weill, saying, if the earle of Lennox overcame him, that the next day he would do richt soe with him. Thairfoir, he said, it was best to debaitt with both thair poweris.

Off this desir my lord Hamiltoun was verrie glaid, and promised to meitt my lord Angus with his wholl kine and freindis att Linlithgow. On the morne thairefter, the earle of Lennox came out of Stirling, with thrie great hostis, marching towardis Edinburgh, to sett fordwardis his purpose and intent, quhilk he had takin in hand at the kingis command. Incontinent the earle of Angus was adverteised of thair cuming, and schew the king the manner, and caused mak proclamatiounes, both in Leith and in Edinburgh, that all men betuixt sixtie and sixteine should ryse and follow the king, and debaitt his gráce. The king hearing thir wordis of the earle of Angus, and knew the matter how it stood, gave bot little answeir to him againe ; so that when he perceaved the king slow in the matter, he knew thair was no other remedie, but he took the feildis manfullie, and caused his freind Archibald Douglas, proveist of Edinburgh, to gar ring the commoun bell, and put the toun in ordour, and commandit thame to ryse and pas with the king to support him, for he wold pas Incontinent fordward to meitt my lord Home, who was above Lithgow with an armie of tuo thousand men ; and the earle of Angus past fordward with the Hoomes and Kerris, who

wer also tuo thousand men. Be this word cam to the toun of Edinburgh, that the earle of Lennox was within ane myll to the toun of Lithgow with thrie great hoastis, to the number of tuelf thousand men, weill furnisch-ed with all necessaris and was purposed to cum to Edinburgh, if he was not stopped. Then George Douglas hearing this, desired the king effectuouslie to ryse and pas fordward to help his brother, and support him againes his enemies, showing the king how near they war. Bot the king took little thought of that, and was verrie slow in his furth ryding; bot at the last, the post cam from the earle of Angus, showing the king that bothi the armies war in vtheris sight, and was purposed to fight; thairfoir prayed the kingis grace to cum fordward with the toun of Edinburgh, to reskew the earle of Angus, or els he wold be lost, be reasoun of the number of the other pairtie. Then the king caused sound his trumpettis, and lap vpoun hors, and caused ring the commoun bell of Edinburgh, commanding all maner of men to follow him; so he isched forth at the West Port, and the tounes of Edinburgh and Leith with him, to the number of thrie thousand men, and passed forwards with thame. Bot, or they cam to the craigs of Corstorphine,

they heard the artaillie schott on both sydis: Then George Douglas besought the king, for Godis saik, to ryd faster, that he might reskew and help his brother. Be this ane post cam and schew the king that both the armies war joyned, and fightand furiouslie, with other on the wast syd of Linlithgow, tuo mylles from the toun, and that the earle of Angus and the earle of Glencairne was yocked togidder, and the lord Hamiltounes hoste was yocked in lyk manner. Then the king raid fast to sie the manner, bot ane other post met the king incontinent, showing him that the earle of Lennox men war fled from him, and beleived that he had tint the feild; at the quhilk tydings the king was verrie heavilie displeased, and cryed vpoun his freindis and servandis, and sick as wold doe for him, to ryd fast to the feild, and stanch slaughter, and in speciall to saiff the earle of Lennox, if he wold be found alive. So sundrie of the kingis servandis and familiars, rod to the feild, and with thame Sir Andro Wood of Largo, who was one of the kingis carveris for the tyme, and on of his grace' most speciall servandis. Bot when they cam to the feild, they fand the earle of Lennox in the dead thraw, cruellie slaine be Sir James Hamiltoun, that tirrant, efter that he was ta-

kin in the feild be the laird of Porduen, and his veapones takin from him, Immediatlíe efter this Sir James Hamiltoun gart schott him from his takeris, and thair slew him bot mercie ; and he vsed all so that he might overtak that day in the feild, quhair was manie marked with his mark that day, quhilk was ane overthort the chaftis. We will speak no more of his tirannie, bot returne to Sir Andro Wood, and the rest of the kingis servantis, who raid swiftlie throw the feildis to saiff all that they might apprehend alyve ; quhill at the last they fand the earle of Glencairne fightand, and not thritie of his men alive, vnslaine and fled from : but yit he was at sick ane strenth, that his enemies culd not doe at him, so long as he had any to defend him, bot immediatlíe Sir Andro Wood, the kingis servant, took him and brought him away to ane secreit place, quhair naither the Douglass nor the Hamiltounes might apprehend him to doe him any skaith. This being done, the kingis servandis cam throw the feildis, and saw the lord Hamiltoun weiping verrie bitterlie besyd the earle of Lennox, saying, “ The hardiest, stoutest, and wysest man that evir Scotland bure, lyes heir slaine this day, and laid his cloak of scarlet vpoun him, and caused watch-

men stand about him, quhill the kingis servantis cam and buried him.

This battell being finisched, and manie taillie and slaine on aither syde, and especiallye the earle of Lennox, and many gentlmen of the wastland with him; and the earle of Glencairne evill voundit to the dead, and many of his freindis hurt and slaine. This cruell and unhappie feild was striken in the yeir of God, 1526 yeires, in the moneth of September. Then the earle of Angus returned to the king with great glorie and victorie, weill commendit of all men for the chance and victorie that fell to him.

Then the kingis grace, with the earle of Angus, and my lord Hamiltoun, with the Hoomes and Kerris, went all that night to Linlithgow, and remained thair in great merlines. Bot the king himself was very dollorous, for the tinsell of his eame the earle of Lennox, and monie other gentlmen with him, who war all perished throw the kingis awin occasioun, for they interprysed the matter at the kingis command; and fardder, the king was very suspitious of the earle of Angus, and effeired his awin lyff, becaus the earle of Angus knew that the king had caused interpryse such thingis againes him, and nothing pros-

pered weill with the king againes the said earle. Thairfoir he was in great suspitioun that they wold put hand in his awin bodie, considdering all thingis succedit so with him. Bot yitt I cannot find that evir the earle of Angus or any of the Douglass failled the king in any pairt, although they war covetous, and greidie, and oppressouris of thair neighbouris. Yitt they war evir true, kind, and servicable to the king in all affaires, and oftymes pat thameselffis in jeopardie for his saik.

This being done, the king returned to Edinburgh, verrie sad and sorrowful, that he o nawayes could cum to his purpose; but yitt he remained quyet within himself, and the Douglas's evir tuik high upoun thame: quhairthrow they began to punisch all thame that cam againes thame with the earle of Lennox, and speciallie they flied bischop Beatoun so, that he fled away and durst not be seine a long time; and so did Margaret the queine of Scotland, and geid vagand disguysed ane lang tyme, for fear of the Douglassis; and thair-ester thei tuik the king to St Androis, and thair past thair tyme ane quhill: bot they could not find the bischope, for he was keiping scheip in Boigrumoir with ane schepherdis

cloathis vpoun him. Be this way he escaped thair furie for a whill. Bot George Douglas knew weill the bischope of St Androis to be ane great man, and had monie casualties of taxes and teindis to be gottin aff his hand, thairfoir, within ane little whill he aggried with the earle of Angus his brother, and the bischope, for certane teyndis and tackis which the bischop gave him, with vther commodities that he gatt at the said bischopes handis; so that he was receaved againe in the court, and als the queine, without any manis indignation outwardlie schowin againes hir, becaus shoe was the kingis mother.

At this tyme, the Douglass pat sore at the lord Lindsay, and thought to have forfault him: bot he gave lairglie of his landis and geir to eschew that invy for the present tyme, thinkand that that court wold not continew long. Fardder, bischope Beatoun called the king and the Douglassis to his pasch to St Andros, and thair maid thame great banquetting and mirrines; and also propyned thame with great giftis, that he might the better pacifie thair wraithis towardis him, and obtaine thair favoures. So the king stayed thair ane quhyll, vsing hunting and hauking vpoun the watter of Eedene, quhyll at the last the earle of

Angus askit leive to pas to Lothiane, to sie his bussines, and left with the king Archibald, his father brother, George, his awin brother, and James Douglas of Parkhead, who was captane of the kingis guard. Bot within tuo dayes, Archibald Douglas, thesaurer, asked leive of the king to pas to Dundie to sie his bussines thair ane day or tuo; som sayes he had ane gentlvoman thair, quhom he longed to visit; and in lyk manner, George Douglas rod aff the toun to gett his taxes performed, promiseist be the bischope to the earle of Angus his brother, and left with the king James Douglas of Parkhead, with ane hunder gentlemen with him, to awaitt vpoun the king, quhair he pleased to pas. Bot quhill George Douglas was dressing his bussines with the bischope, the king passed from Falkland park to withdraw himself from the Douglassis, thinkand it was ane convenient tyme to put himself to libertie, and out of their handis, quhen the earle of Angus himself, his brother George, and his father brother Archibald, war all out of his companie. Thairfoir he devysed ane craftie meane, for that effect, and called vpoun the laird of Ferme, forester of the park of Falkland, and chamberland of Fyfe, and caused him to warne all the gentlemen thairabout, that had

speidie doggis, to cum and hunt with him on the morne be sewin houris, for he was determined to slay ane deare or tuo for his pleasour. So he commandit to gett his disjone readie the morne be four houres, and commandit James Douglas of the Parkheid to gange the sooner to his bed that night, that he might ryse the sooner on the morne, and awaitt vpoun him. And than when the king had soupit that night, thairefter he past to his chamber, and loused his cloathis, and called for ane drink, and drank to James Douglas, saying to him that he sould sie guid hunting on the morne, and bad him be tymous, and then the king went to his bed; and when James Douglas saw the king goe to his bed, he thought all had beine sicker enough, and went also to his awin bed. And quhen the wach was set and all at quyetnes, the king called upon ane yeaman of the stable, as he had beine on of the watch, and was unperceaved be thame, quhill he was at the stable, and caused him saidle him ane hors for himselff, and ane led hors, and tuik servandis with him, to witt, Jockie Hart, ane yeaman of the stable, with ane vther secreit servand, and lap vpoun hors, and sped him haistilie to Stirling; and cam thair be break of the day, over the bridge thair of: and caused steik the bridge

gaitt behind him, that no man sould wine that passage without his licence; and syne past to the castle, who was heartilie receaved be the captane thairof, and prepared the castle with all thingis neidfull for his recept, and drew down the portculzeis, and maid all suire, and syne laid the king in his bed, becaus he had riddin all that night. We will latt him sleip in his bed, and returne to George Douglas, who came home to Falkland at ellivin houris at night, and requyred at the porteris quhat the king was doing, who answeired, that he was in his awin chamber sleiping, who was to ryse tymous to the huntis, and richt so said the wachmen. George hearing that, went to his bed, quhill on the morne, that thē sone rose. Than cam Patrick Carmichall bailyie of Abernethie, and knocked at George Douglas chamber doore, and inquiryed of him quhat the king was doing; George answeired, that he was not wakit as yitt in his awin chamber. The bailyie answered, "Yea are deceavit, he is along the bridge of Stirling this night." Then George Douglas gatt vp haistilie, and went to the porteris and wachmen, and inquiryed for the king, who still answeired that he was sleiping in his awin chamber. Then George Douglas came to the kingis chamber

doore, and found it lockit, and dang it vp, bot found no man in it. Then he cryed, "Fye, treasonn, the king was gone and no man wist quhidder." Some said he was gone to Bambreife, to ane gentlvoman; vtheris said that he was past to Stirling. Then George Douglas lap vpoun hors to ryd to Bambreif, bot within tuo mylles he mett the earle of Rothas, who schew to him that the king was not thair. Then they past to Falkland againe, and consulted quhat was best to be done; and sent ane haistie post to Tamtallon, to the earle of Angus, to shew him the matter how it stood. Be this Archibald Douglas cam back fra the toun of Dundie; and when they mett altogidder, to witt, the earle of Angus, George and Archibald, they rod altogidder to Stirling, to the king. Bot when the king gott word of his cuming, he send ane herald to the mercatt croce, to proclame be sound of trunpett, that nather the earle, his brother George, Archibald, nor none of thair kin and freindis, sould cum neir him be six mylles, vnder the paine of treasonn. Quhen the Douglassis hard tell of this proclamatioun, they consulted togidder quhat was best to be done thairanent; some said they wold pas forward to the toun, bot the earle himself, and his brother George said

they wold obey the kingis proclamatioun. So they returned and passed backward to Linlithgow, and thair remained .ane day or tuo, quhill they gott word from the king: who was at that tyme verrie busie, sending for his lordis to have thair counsall, to witt, he sent for the earles of Huntlie, Argyle, Atholl, Glencarne, Monteith, and Rothes; the lordis of Graham, Livingstoun, Sinclair, Ruthven, Drummond, Annerdail, Maxwell, Sempill, Eglintoun, with bischope James Beatoun; and conveined all thir lordis at Stirling, in the moneth of Junii 1527 yeires; and thair the king schew thame his mynd, with great lamentatioun; schowand to thame how he was holdin vnder subjection be the earle of Angus, thir yeires bygane, and be his awin kine and freindis: for he awowed that Scotland sould not hold thame both, quhill he was avengit on thame.

The lordis hearing the kingis complaint and lamentatioun, and als perceaved the great rage he was in towardis the earle of Angus, they concludit all and fand it best that he sould be summondit to vnderly the law; and if he fand not cautioun to enter and compeir himself, that he sould be put to the horne and banisch-ed induring the kingis will.

This proces was prosequit according to the lordis devyce, and the earle of Angus, his kin, and freindis, war summondit to vnderly the law within ane certane day, or elis be put to the horne. Bot the earle nor non of his compeired the said day, bot war all put to the horne, so many as war contained in the summondis, and war all banished, and esteemed as tratouris to his majestie. Quhairby we may sie that no courtis ar constant in the earth. For this earle of Angus, having the king at his pleasour, could nevir be seperat from his grace, nather be visdome nor power of manes ingyne. But when he was highest, and thought himself in greatest peace and tranquillitie with his prince, dreidand no care thairefter, becaus he had debaitted so many troubles befor in his defence, and foughtin so cruellie, and maid sick slauchter to defend his awin rycht and auctoritie with the king, in tymes bygane, thinkand than thair was no man to pursue him, sieing he had wone the vpper hand on all them that intendit to put him from the king and court: notwithstanding, God moved the kingis heart to exyll and banisch him be this meanes, quhilk I have schowin befor.

The earle of Angus; his kine and freindis, being at the horne in this manner, the king gart mak strait proclamatiounes throw out all burghes, that whosoever recept the earle of Angus, or ony of his kin and freindis, within thair houssis, or had ony dealling with thame, they sould be esteemed as participantis of thair crymes, and convict thairintill. Fardder, the king caused mak proclamatiounes in Fyfe; Angus, Stratherne and Stirlingshyre, Mers and Tiviotdaill, to compeir at Edinburgh the tent day of December, anno for-said, with fourtie dayes victuallis, to pas and seidge Tamtallon, and, to that effect, send to the castle of Dumbar to Captane Moreis, and borrowed great artaillie, and laid pldges for the same, becaus the castle was in the duik of Albanie's handis, and the artaillie thair of his awin: bot it was evir at the kingis pleasour when he had to doe, and that at command of the said duik of Albanie. Bot yit, for observing of guid ordour, pleadges war givin. So the artaillie, with the cannones and cannoneris, war convoyed to Tamtallon, and seidged the same the space of twentie dayes, bot cam no speid*. Bot whidder the castle was so

* The artillery, according to a recent manuscript, consisted of "two great cannones, throuen mouthed Now and her

strong, or if the principall seidgeris war corrupted be the earle of Angus' moyane, I cannot tell, bot the king was constrained to pas home to Edinburgh, and left it without any hope of wining thairof; bot had both money, men, and hors, lost at the persute thairof: and at his returning had ane noble captane slaine be Archibald Douglas, [umquhill treasurer and father brother to the said earle,] callit David Falconer, att whose slauchter the king was heavilie displeased. Casting all the moyane he might to obtaine the castle of Tamtallon, knawing weill if he had the castle thair wold be no place to the earle nor his freindis to resort till; thairfoir he caused mak moyane with the captane thairof, called Simeon Penango, and promised to giue him great giftis and revardis, both of landis and geir, with the kingis speciall favoures, and to remitt all byganes to his brother and near freindis thairof, in lykmaner, excepting the Douglassis alwayes. Of thir offerris the captane tuik him to be adwysed till ane certane day, and thairefter to give the king ane answeir.

In this meane tyme the captane send to the earle of Angus, Archibald, and George, to

marrow, with two great boatcards, and two moyanis, two double falkons, and four quarter falkons."

sie quhat was thair myndis, showing to thame that he was evill victualled, and wanted artaillie, poudier, and bullettis, thairfoir desired him to furnisch him thair of within ane certane day, or elis he wold be forced to give over the same to the kingis grace. The earle hearing this message of the captane's, was not weill content, becaus he knew weill he might not support him of his desir, becaus he had nather poudier nor bullettis, nor could gett non haistilie, nor yitt could he furnisch victuallis, nather be sea nor land, in respect that the king had watchis both be sea and land, evir waching that no furnishing sould cum to the said castle. So the captane received no readie answeir of his maister, nor getting no furnishing, nor knowing of non to cum to him, incontinent he appoynttit with the king, that is, the king sould remitt the said Simeon of all offences bygane, and giue him leive to transport all bage and baggage, except munitioun, and sick thingis as war vsed for the defence of the place. Off thir offeris the king was weill content, and promised to grant the same to the said captane. So the castle was rendrit to the king, and he revairdit the said captane richlie. Schortlie thairefter the king caused furnisch the said castle with men, munitioun,

and victuall, and maid ane Oliver Sinclar captane thair of; and caused massones cum and rainforce the wallis, quhilkis war left wast befoir as transis, and maid all massie work, to mak it the more strong to any that happened to pursue it thairefter.

Then the king caused mak proclamatiounes out throw the wholl realme, that no man sould foster, succor, sustane, or recept, any Douglas within thair boundis, and thairefter caused bring in thair maillis and dewties to his vse, to that effect that they sould be puire, and have no strenth in tymes cuming. The Douglassis, sieing that in no wayes they could obtaine the kingis favouris to abyd in Scotland, they concludit amongst thaimselfis to pas in Ingland, quhair they war receaved thankfullie, and intertained tenderlie be king Harie the Aught, who intertained thame verrie honorablie ane long tyme.

The king hearing that the Douglassis war absent, sett ane parliament at Edinburgh, the 25 day of Merch 1528 yeires, and thair, in presenche of the king and thrie estaites, the earle of Angus and his kine and freindis war forfault, and thair landis annexit to the croun. This proces of forfaltrie was led as I have schowin yow.

The king past to Stirling and remained thair ane space, and changed manie of his officeris, that is, secritar, comptroller, thesaurer, and Mr Houshold, with vther officeris quhilkis pleased him to remove for the tyme, and pat vtheris in thair place, quhom he thought most expedient, and thairefter maid ane convention at Edinburgh with all the lordis and barrounes, to consult how he might best stanch theiff and river within his realme, and to caus the commounes to leive in peace and rest, quhilk long tyme had beine perturbed befoir. To this effect he gave chairge to all earles, lordis, barrones, frieholderis, and gentlmen, to compeir at Edinburgh with ane monethis victuall, to pas with the king to daunton the theives of Tividail and Annerdail, with all vther pairtes of the realme, also the king desired all gentlmen that had doggis that war guid, to bring thame with thame to hunt in the saidis boundis, quhilk the most pairt of the noblmen of the Highlandis did: sick as the earles of Huntlie, Argyle, and Atholl, who brought thair deir houndis with thame, and hunted with his majestie. Thir lordis, with many other lordis and gentlmen, to the number of tuelf thousand men, assemblit at Edinburgh, and thairfra went with the kingis

grace to Meggat land, in the quhilk boundis war slaine at that tyme aughteine scoir of deir. Efter this hunting the king hanged Johne Armstrange, laird of Kilnokie, quhilk monie Scottis man heavilie lamented, for he was ane doubtit man, and als guid ane chiftane as evir was vpoun the borderis aither of Scotland or of England. And albeit he was ane lous leivand man, and sustained the number of xxiiij weill horsed able gentlmen with him, yitt he nevir molested no Scottis man. Bot it is said, from the Scottis border to New Castle of England, thair was not ane of quhatsoevir estate bot payed to this John Armstrange ane tribut to be frie of his cumber, he was so doubtit in England. So when he entred in befor the king, he cam verrie reverentlie, with his forsaide number verrie richlie apparrelled, trusting, that in respect he had cum to the kingis grace willinglie and voluntarlie, not being tain nor apprehendit be the king, he sould obtaine the mair favour. Bot when the king saw him and his men so gorgeous in thair apparrell, and so many braw men vnder ane tirrantis commandement, throwardlie, he turned about his face, and bad tak that tirrant out of his sight, saying, " Quhat wantis yon knave that a king sould have." But when

Johne Armstrange perceaved that the king kindled in ane furie againes him, and had no hope of his lyff, notwithstanding of many great and fair offeris, quhilk he offered to the king, that is, that he sould sustene himself with fourtie gentlemen, ever readie to awaitt vpoun his majestie's service, and nevir to tak a pennie of Scotland, nor Scottis man. Secondlie, that thair was not ane subject in England, duik, earle, lord, or barroun, bot within ane certane day he sould bring ony of thame to his majestie, aither quick or dead. He sieing no hope of the kingis favour towardis him, said verrie proudlie, "I am bot ane fooll to seik grace at ane graceles face. Bot had I knawin, Sir, that yea would have takin my lyff this day, I sould have leved vpoun the borderis in disphyte of king Harie and yow baith; for I knaw king Harie wold doun weigh my best hors with gold to knaw that I war condemned to die this day." So he was led to the scaffold, and he and all his men hanged. This being done, the king returned home to Edinburgh, the xxiiij day of Julij, and remained meikle of that winter in Edinburgh.

Wpoun the nixt sommer thairefter, the king, togidder with his mother, and ane ambassadour of the Paipis wha was in Scotland for the tyme,

went all togidder to Atholl to the huntis. The earle of Atholl heiring of his coming, maid great and gorgeous provisoun for him in all thingis pertaining to ane prince, that he was als weill eased in all thingis as if he had beine in ane of his awin pallaces. For this noble earle of Atholl caused mak ane curious pallace to the king, his mother, and the ambassadour, quhair-by they were als weill eased as if they had beine in ony pallace aither of Scotland or Ingland, and equivalent for the tyme of thair hunting; quhilk was biggit in the midle of ane greine medow, and the wallis thair of was of greine timber, wovin with birkis, and biggit in four quarteris, as if it had beine ane pallace, and in everie quarter ane round lyk ane blokhous, quhilkis war loffit and jeasted thrie hous hicht; the floore wes laid with grein earthe, and strowed with sick floures as grew in the medow, that no man knew quhairon he yead, bot as he had beine in ane greine gardeine. Fardder, thair was tuo great roundis on everie syd of the yett, and ane great portcullies of trie falling down as it had beine ane barrace yett with ane gritt draw bridge, and ane foussie of sixteine fute deip, and thrittie fute broad of watter. This pallace was hung with fyne tapistrie within,

and weill lighted in all necessar pairtes with glassin windowis.

The king was verrie weill intertained in this wildernes the space of thrie dayes, with all sick delicious and sumptuous meattis as was to be hade in Scotland, for fleschis, fischis, and all kindis of fyne wyne, and spyces, requisit for ane prince. Fardder, thair was no fishes that could leive in fresch watteris, but war thair swimming in the foussie about the pallace *. It is said, by the space of thir thrie dayes that his grace was thair, the earle of Atholl was everie day ane thousand pundis of expenss. This Pope's ambassadour sieing so great ane triumph in ane wildernes, quhair

* These things are somewhat more detailed in a later manuscript. "That is to say, all kind of drink, as aill, beer, wyne, both whyte and claret, malvasie, muskadail, eligant hippocras, and aquavita; farder, thair was of meattis, wheat bread, maine bread, and ginge bread, with fleshis beiff and mutton, lamb, veill, and vennison, goose, gryse, capon, cunning, crun, swan, pairtrick, plever, duik, drake, brissel, cock, and paunies, black cock, and muirfoull, capercailles. And also the stankis that were round about the palace were full of all delicat fishes, as salmond, trouttis, pearshes, pykes, eiles, and all other kind of delicat fishes that could be gottin in fresch water, and were all readie for the banket. Syne were ther proper stuartis, cunning baxters, excellent cooks, and potingaris, with confections, and drugs for ther disserts." This passage bears strong evidence of interpolation.

thair was no toun neir be twentie myllis, he thought it ane great marvell that sick ane thing sould be in Scotland: that is, so coult lyk and delicious intertainment in the Highlandis of Scotland, quhair he saw nothing bot woodis and wildernes. Bot most of all, this ambassadour, when the king was cuming back from the huntis, marvelled to sie the Highlanderis sett all this pallace on fire, that the king and the ambassadour might sie it. Then the ambassadour said to the king, "I marvell, Sir, yea latt burne yon pallace quherin yea war so weill eased." The king answeirit, "It is the vse of our Highland' men, that be they nevir so weill lodged all the night, they will burne the same on the morne." This being done, the king returned to Dunkell that night, and on the morne to St Jonstoun. It is said, at this tyme, in Atholl and Stratherdail boundis, thair was slaine threttie scoir of hart and hynd, with other small beastis, sick as roe and roebuck, woulff, fox, and wyld cattis, etc.

Thairefter the king cam out of St Jonstoun to Dundie, quhair he was weill intertained be the constable thair of the space of four dayes. And thairefter the king, with his mother and the ambassadour forsaide, past to St Andros, and thair remained till the Michelmas pardon: and was

weill intertained be bischope Beatoun and pryor Patrick Hepburne. Thairefter the king cam to Edinburgh, and biggit ane fair pallace to him selff, to repose when he cam to the toun. Fardder, he sent to Flanderis and brought home artaillie, poudre, and bullottis, harneise, pickis, and all other kynd of munitioun pertaining to a prince, and garnished his castles thairwith, that is to say, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbar, Dumbarton, and the Blaknes: and fardder, he translated the pallace of Linlithgow, and biggit ane prettie pallace in the toun of Stirling.

In this yeir cam an Inglisch ambassadour out of England, callit lord Williame, ane bischope, and vther gentlemen to the number of thrie scoir horss, quhilkis war all able, wailed gentlemen, for all kynd of pastime, as schotting louping, wrastling, runing, and casting of the stone. Bot they war weill assayed in all these or they went home; and that be thair awin provocation, and almost evir tint, quhill at the last the kingis mother favoured the Inglismen, becaus shoe was the king of Englandis sister: and thairfoir shoe tuik ane waigeour of archerie vpoun the Inglischmanis handis, contrair the king hir sone, and any half duzoun Scottismen, aither noblmen, gentlemen, or yea-

manes; that so many Inglisch men sould schott againes thame at riveris, buttis, or prick bonnett. The king, heiring of this boi-speill of his mother, was weill content. So thair was laid an hundreth crounes, and ane tun of wyne pandit on everie syd. The ground was chosin in St Androis; the Scottis archeris was thrie landit gentlmen, and thrie yeamanes, to witt, David Weimes of that ilk, David Arnott of that ilk, and Mr Johne Wedderburne, viccar of Dundie. The yeamanes was Johne Thomsone in Leith, Stevin Tabroner, and Alexander Baillie, who was ane pyper, and schott vondrous neir, and wan the vaigour from the Inglismen; and thairefter went in to the toun and maid ane banquett to the king and the queine, and the Inglisch ambassadour, with the wholl tuo hundreth crounes, and the tuo tunes of wyne. Albeit that the Inglismen confessed that the Scottismen sould have beine fried of the payment of that banqueitt, quhilk was so gorgeous that it was of no les awaill then the said gold and wyne extended to. Fardder, this ambassadour directed his comission to the king in St Andros; showand his grace, if he would cum in England, and speak with the king of England, the king of England would give him the duikdome of York, and

mak him protectour of Ingland, and gouv-
nour, and put hes sone Edward in his handis
in keiping in during his minoritie. The king
was verrie glaid of this offer, and promised
to lord Williame the ambassadour, that he
sould cum in Ingland when he thought tyme
expedient; that is, how soone he had estab-
lished his realme, and put it in guid ordour,
and meitt his vncle the king of Ingland in ony
place quhair he pleased. So the ambassadour
departed home to his maister the king of Ing-
land, with the king of Scotlandis answeir, who
was verrie-rejoyced that the king of Scotland
promised to cum to him, beleiving weill
that he would keip his promise to cum to
him. Nottheles, the wicked bischopes of
Scotland would not thoall the king of Scot-
land to pas thair, but caused him send an am-
bassadour to excuse him, that he might not
win at that tyme for caussis. For the bis-
chopis feared if the king had mett with king
Harie, that he would have moved him to have
castin doun the abbeyis and to have altered
the religioun as the king of Ingland had done
a befoir in Ingland. Thairfoir the bischopis
buddit him to byd at home, and gave him thrie
thousand pundis of yeirlie rent out of thair
benefices.

In this meane tyme thair arose great troubles in the borderis, that the king behoved to send his brother the earle of Murray to the borderis, and maid him lieftennant-generall, and divided the realme in four quarteris, and caused everie quarter to keip thair awin pairts: quhilkis continewed the space of ane yeir, and thairefter was called the quarter raidis. Yitt the king was compelled to send the bischope of Aberdeen in ambassage in Ingland, and with him thrie ancient knyghtis, to witt, Sir Alexander Stewart of Garleis, Sir David Barclay of Collerin, and Sir David Weymss of that ilk. Thir ambassadouris past to Ingland, with the kingis commissioun, and secreit letter, writtin with the kingis awin hand, sealed on the back that no man durst oppin it, till he delyvered it to the king of Ingland himselff, and desired him to caus the king of Ingland writt againe in his awin hand writt, that no scribes nor secretaries sould know quhat was betuixt thame bot thamselffis allanerlie.

The ambassadoures past to Ingland at the kingis command, and was weill receaved be king Harie at London, quhair they presented the secreit letter, togidder with thair commissioun to king Harie, desiring his grace to keip

the letter secret to himself onlie, and to send the king of Scotland ane answeir againe writtin with his awin hand, as he had done to him, quhilk the king of England said he should doe; promiseing to put no man in the counsall thair of. So the ambassadours departed to thair ludgingis, till on the morne that thei war sent for, and when the bischope of Aberdeine was sett at the counsall, and sieing monie wryttingis of vther ambassadours lying at the brod for thair awin affaires, as they had adoe in diversis realmes, he also saw the king of Scotlandis secret wrytting lying among thame, and als soone as he perseaved it, he start vp from the boord, and tuik the king by the sleive, and led him to a window, and said to him, "Sir, if I durst say with your licence, yea have failed to our maister the king of Scotland." King Harie answeired, "Quhairintill, sir bischope, for rather or I failed willinglie to the king of Scotland, my sister sone, I had rather perrill my croun and all that I have, in on day, thairfoir tell me quhairin?" The bischop answeired, "Ye promiseist that no man could sie the secret letter that I brought to yow, bot your awin bodie onlie; and now it is lying patent and oppin at your boord, that ony man may reid it quha is at yon boord." The king an-

swered and said, "Sir bischope yea are de-
ceaved, thair is no man yonder but my awin
bodie, they in me, and I in thame, nathier
dare they reveal any thing they sie yonder,
vnder paine of the executioun of themselffis,
and forfaling both of thame and thair posteri-
tie; and if your king vse any other meanes
privilie, nor his wyse counsallouris, aither in
the government of his bodie, or his realme, [he
will not reigne long, nor have his realme] in
peace and rest; thairfoir, shew your maister
that nather he nor I may be esteemed sundrie
from ovr counsallowres if we wold ruell
weill."

Be this the king and the bischope satt down
to the boord againe to the counsall, quhair all
matteris war dressing: and ane guid answeir
given to the bischope concerning his commis-
sioun. But he was not haistilie dispatched at
that tyme, for he remained in Ingland ane
quarter of ane yeir. And thairefter when the
bischope returned, and schew the king of
Scotland king Harie's behaviour towardis the
Douglassis, and how he was so givin to inter-
taine thame, the king was the more suspitious
of the Douglassis that war in Scotland, sick
as Drumlanrige, and vtheris of that name.

The lady Glamis was accused at this tyme

of lese majestie, and being convict thair of, was brunt vpoun the castle hill of Edinburgh; and in this meane tyme the maister of Forbes was convict and justified for crymes of treasoun, who swore vpoun the scaffold that he was innocent of these crymes of treasoun, quhair of he was convict; but he knew weill it was the innocent slauchter of the laird of Meldrum, that had brought him to that poynt.

Soone efter this thair was ane singular combatt betuixt the laird of Drumlanrige, and the laird of Hemsfeild, that provockit vtheris to the bar-race, for certaine poyntis of treasoun, quhilk the on alleadgit vpoun the other. So when they entered vnder the castle wall of Edinburgh, Drumlanrige being sumqubat sand-blind, and being in ane furie, so meikle the ware, that he knew not quhom he hat nor quhat he hatt; bot in the meantyme Hemsfeildis sword brak, and than the king cryed over the castle wall to the heraldis and men of armes to red thame. At that tyme thair was monie southland men appailled vtheris to the singular combat, befor the king; for ane singular combat durst not be bot in his presence, or be his consent.

Fardder, in this same yèir thair was certane godlie men, who professed the word

of Chryst, called and accused befor the bishopis and kirkmen, who was condemned and burnt be the kingis commissioun at Edinburgh: to witt, the viccar of Dollour, Mr Normond Galloway, and David Strattoun brother to the laird of Lawroustoun. The accusatioun of the viccar of Dollour conteint thir wordis as efter followis: That is, Mr Johne Lather the accuser red the articles in this forme: "Fals heretick, thow sayes it is not lesum to kirkmen to tak your offeirngis and croce presentis, though we have beine in vse of the same consuetud and ordained be the kirk and king; and als our holie father the Pope hes confirmed the same." The viccar answered, "Brother I said not so; bot I said it was not lesum to spend the patrimonie of the kirk as they doe; that is, in ryotous banquetting and on fair vomen, and playing at cards and tables: and nather the kirk weill maintained, nor the people instructed in Godis word, nor the sacramentis dewlie ministrat vnto thame, as Chryst commandit." The accuser sayes, "Denyes thow that quhilk is opinlie knawin in the countrie, that thou gave againe to thy parochineris the kow and the vpmost cloath, saying that thow had no richt to thame?" The viccar answered; "I gave thame againe

to tham quho had more mister nor I had.” The accuser sayes, “ Heretick, thow learned all thy parochineris to say the pater noster, the creed and the ten commandmentis in Inglish, quhilk is contrair to our actis, that they sould knaw what they say ?” The viccar answered ; “ Brother, my people is so rud and barbarous, that they vnderstand no Latine, so that my conscience moved me to learne thame the wordis of thair salvatioun, that is the ten commandementis, quhilk is the law of God, quhairby they might observe the same. I taught thame the beleife quhairby they might knaw thair faith in God, and Jesus Chryst his sone, and of his death and resurrection for thame. Fardder, I taught and learned thame the dominicall oratioune in the mother tongue, to that effect that they sould knaw quhom to they sould pray, quhat they sould desir and ask in thair prayeris.” The accuser sayes, “ Why did thow that, by our actis and ordinances of our halie father the Paip ?” The viccar answeired ; “ I follow the actis and ordinances of our maister and saviour Jesus Chryst, and of his apostle Paull, who shewes in his doctrine to the Corinthians in the 14. chap. thair of, saying, ‘ that he had rather speak fyve wordis to the understanding and

edifieing of the people, nor ten thousand in ane unknowin tongue, quhilk they vnderstood not." The accuser sayes, "Quhair findis thow that?" The viccar answeired; "In my book quhilk is in my sleive." Then the accuser start to the viccar and pulled the buik out of his sleive, and held it to the people saying, "Behold he has the book of heresie in his sleive, quhilk makis all the pley in the kirk." The viccar said, "Brother, God forgive yow, yea ought and sould say better, if yea pleased, nor to call the evangill of Jesus Chryst the buik of heresie; for I assure yow, dear brother, thair is nothing in this book but the lyff, letter will and testament of our maister and saviour Jesus Chryst, writtin be the four evangelistis for our comfort and instructioun." Then said the accuser, "Heretick, knowis thou that it is contrair to our actis to have ane new testament in Inglis, quhilk is enough to burne the for?"

Then the counsall of the clargie gave sentence on him to be brunt for the vseing of the same buik, the New Testament in Inglis; and also they condemned David Stratoun because he wold not abjure and burne his faggatt, quhilk they war verrie earnest to have done, and the king himselff procured for his

lyff, quhilk the bischopis grantit if he would burne his faggatt, quhilk the said David o nawayes wold doe : quhairfoir the viccar and he war both brunt. I know no caus quby, bot that this David wold not pay his teindis thankfullie to his persone, and also Mr Normand Galloway was brunt becaus he was in the eastland, and cam home and married ane wayff, contrair the forme of the Pope's institution, becaus he was ane priest, to quhom it was not permittit to marrie; bot if he had had ane thousand whores he had nevir beine quarrell-ed!

Efter this the king past to the Illes, and thair punished theise and river condignlie, and caused many of the great Duny vassalis to show thair holding, and fand mony of thame in nonentrie, and thairfoir annexit thame to his awin croun, and brought home manie of the greatest men of the Illes with him, sick as Mackelane, Macky, Johnie Mudzert, Mackoneill, Mackinlucifer, with manie other quhom I cannot rehearse. Some of thame he pat in waird, and some of thame baid at court, and other sum of them war keipit as pleidges for keiping guid ordour in the Lewis and Illes, quhairthrow he gatt gritt proffit and guid obedience and service ane long tyme. And

when the king saw that he had dantonèd the north pairtis and Illes, quhairthrow he was greatumlie rejoyced when he saw all his north countrie in subjection, and at peace and rest, he kest him also with all the moyane he might to bring the south pairtes and borderis to the same subjection and stabilitie, and for that effect he chairgit certane great men in the south land and borderis to enter in waird within the castles of Edinburgh, Blaknes, and Dumbartane; to witt, the laird of Buccleugh in the castle of Edinburgh; the laird of Johnston and Mark Ker war wairdit in Dundie; and thir men he wairdit becaus he knew thair was no break maid nor evill done be the commounes bot be thair adwyce, whairthrow thair was great reiff and hirschipe in the countrie; but thir principallis evir alleadged it to be the commounes quho had the wytt thair of. But fra tyme they war taine thamselffis and put in captivitie, thairefter was peace and rest in the hboundis ane long tyme, [wherethrow the king goid great profit, for he had ten thousand sheep drewg in the Etrick forest, in keeping be Anthem as Bell, who maid the king as good count of In this if they had gone in the bounds of Fife.] maister of Saeantyme the earle of Bothwell, the mill, and the laird Drumlanrig,

with certane vther gentlemen, war banished aff Scotland for certane crymes of lese majestie. Not long efter this, the king, sieing the realme stand in great peace and tranquillitie, thinkand daylie that it should increas and continew; to the effect he send to Denmark and brought home great horss and meires, and pat thame in parkis, that thair offspring might be gottin to susteine the warres quhen neid war. Also he send and furnished the countrie with all kyndis of craftismen; sick as Frenchmen, Spaiyardis, and Duchmen, quhilk evir was the finest of thair professioun that culd be had; quhilk brought the countrie to great policie in respect of the former aige. This being done, the king send ambassadouris to the emperour for marriage, to witt, Sir Johne Campbell of Lowdoun, knyght, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mont, knyght, who war thankfullie receaved, and weill intertain-ed be the emperour, and richlie rewairdit for the king of Scotlandis saik, and thair was presentit to thame tuo fair gentlevomen, the emperouris sister dochteris, who war both lustie, pleasant, bewtifull, and guid lyk personages of vomen; quhairfoir the ambassadeures brought home thair veive lyk pictures to the king of Scotland, and presented thame to him.

How he was content thairwith I cannot tell, bot the marriage proceidit no further. But incontinent thairefter the king sent the lord Erskine and the cardinall in ambassadge to France, to the duik of Vandoun, for marriage, and gatt all thingis granted to thame that they desired of the said duik in the kingis name concerning the marriage; bot yitt they had no commissioun to end quhill the king saw the gentlvoman himselff. Quhairfoir the king, sieing his realme stand in guid peace and rest, he dressed himself haistilie to France. So his grace imbarcked and pulled vp sailles, and sailed thrie dayes and thrie nightis and was within lese nor ane dayis sailling to France. Certane lordis that war with him counsalled him to retorne back, saying his grace might have better allyance in vther pairtes, yea in Scotland itselff, nor with the duik of Vandounis dochter. Be this the king fell on sleip, and the saidis lordis perswadit the maister skipper to turne sail, quhilk, be thair persuasion, he did. Bot when the king awok aff his sleip, and perceaved tham sailling ane contrair cours homwardis, he was highlie offendit at all thame that gave counsall thairvnto, and maist of all at the skipper himselff, who obeyed thair counsall. And had not beine the earnest solistatioun of monie

in his favouris he had hanged the skipper incontinent. But thair was nather the skipper, nor none of thame that counsalled him thairto, that evir could obtaine the kingis favoures. Then the king, sieing that he was forced to turne sail, he gart land him at the wast pairtes of Scotland, and than he remained ane space in the ille of Bute, in his awin castle, quhill he send and gatt hors and men to convoy him to the castle of Stirling, quhair he remained ane certane space quhill his schipes cam about to Leith, and remained thair quhill he was provydit to pas to France againe. For the quhilk caus he assemblit his 'counsall, showand to thame how he was frustratt and put back from his voyage, as said is, be evill adwysed persones, quhilk, at that tyme, he would not expreame, bot he said, if he leived he sould remember vpoun thame, and rewaird thame for thair guidwill. Notwithstanding he gart provyd shipis, men, victuallis, and artailie, with the best skipperis that could be gotten, to pas to France againe, and caused sundrie of the nobilitie of Scotland to mak thame readie to pas with him within ane certane day: quhilkis war, the earles of Huntlie, Argyll, Atholl, the lordis of Maxwell, Fleming, Levingstoun, Ruthvene, Salton; the earle Cas-

sillis, the earle Mershell, the earle of Murray, Rothus, the maister of Erskine, for his father was in France alreadie in ambassadge; and sundrie barrones and gentlemen war in readines to pas with the king.

Als soone as he was prepared he past to Pittinweyme, and thair he and his nobles im-
barked; syne, with great triumph, pulled vp sailles and passed fordwardis to France, and arryved at the New Heavin besid Deip. And als soone as the Frenchmen saw his navie approach neir, they beleived thame to be strangeris, or vnfreindis, quhilk caused thame to be greatumlie effeired, for thair was monie strangeris in his companie, so that he appeired ane great armie. Bot fra tyme they saw the red lyon in the flage, they knew weill it was the king of Scotland, quhair of they war rejoyced exceidinglie, for they hard word of his cuming, so that the brut ran throw France that the king of Scotland was landit at the New Heavin, with ane gritt armie, quhilk tydingis past haistilie to the emperour, quhair he was lying at Calleise, to the number of foirscoir thousand men againes the king of France, quhois leiftenent was camped in Iykmaner anent him, with the number of thriescoir thousand men, who daylie skirmished and maid

incursiões on vtheris, quhill at the last, as I have said, word cam to the emperour that the king of Scotland was landed at the Newheavin besyd Deip, with ane armie to the number of twentie thousand warlyk men, and that to support the king of France contrair the emperour. The emperour heiring of this, he tuik sick fear of the king of Scotlandis cuming, that he lifted his armie, and returned home againe. Efter this, the king of Scotland and his nobles being landit, they tuik the post to Pareise, quhair they remained short quhyll, quhyll he past to the duik of Vandoun, quhair he was for the tyme; but the king of Scotland would not shew himselff opinlie at that tyme, bot disguised himself as he had beine aⁿe serwant, to be vnknawin to the duik or his wayff, or the gentlvoman who sould have beine his spous, thinkand to spy hir pulchritud and behaviour vnkend be hir. Notwithstanding this fair ladie took suspitioun that the king of Scotland sould be in the companie, quhairfoir shoe past to hir coffer and tuik out his picturo, quhilk shoe had gottin out of Scotland be ane secret moyane, and als soone as shoe luiked to the picture it maid her knaw the king of Scotland incontinent quhair he stood among the rest of his companie, and past pearlie to

him, and tuik him be the hand, and said, "Sir, yea stand over farr a syd, thairfoir, if it pleas your grace, yea may show your self to my father or me, and confer and pas the tyme ane whill." The king hearing this, was ane litle astonished that he had disguysed himself to be unknawin, and syne was so haistilie knowin. Yitt, sieing he was so haistilie knawin to thame all, he past to the duik of Vandun and tuik him in his armes, and the duik againe gave him dew reverence as effeired, and was greattunlie rejoyced of his presence, and so was all the duikis companie: and also the king passed to the duchess and kissed her, and also her dochter, and syne excused himself why he was so long vnkawin to thame, desirand thair pardoun thairfoir; bot he was soone forgivin. Then thair was nothing bot mirrines, banquetting, and great chear, and lovelie commoning betuixt the kingis grace and the fair ladies, with great musick, and playing on instrumentis, and all vther kynd of pastime for the feildis, with lutis, shalmes, trumpettis, and organes, with all kynd of melodious instrumentis; with justing and runing of great horss: quhilkis pastimes were all to delight the king of Scotland. For the duik prepared ane fair pallace to the king, decored

with all coastlie ornamentis. The wallis thair-
of was decored and hung with tapistrie of gold,
and wrought with silk ; the flour thairof all
laid with greine freis, and ane pail of gold all
sett with pretious stones, sett above the kingis
heid when he satt at his meitt : and all the
hallis and chamberis war perfumed with sweitt
odouris, verrie delectable to the senssis of men.

The king was greatlie honoured. thair be
the duik of Vandoun, for the space of aught
dayes in great joy and mirrines, during the
quhilk space monie love tokines past betuine
the king and the duikis dochter, quhilkis war
verrie coastlie jewellis as might be gottin in
any pairt for gold or silver. Bot the king
and counsall thought it expedient to speak
nothing of marriage at that tyme, quhill
he had spokin with the king of France ; con-
sidderring he was within his realme, he would
shew him his mynd and have his counsall thair-
intill or he concludit in that matter. Thair-
foir the king past in haist to the king of France,
quhair he was for the tyme at hunting, ac-
companied with his wayff, his sone, and his
dochter, with many vther lustie ladies, besydis
duikis, earles, lordis, and barrones. Bot when
they hard tell that the king of Scotland was
coming in propper persone in thair presence,

they war all greatlie rejoyced, and marvelled meikle of the king of Scotlandis taking the sea in sick eventure, considerring the brokinnes of the seais, and greatt enemies on everrie syd; also they marvelled meikle of his great diligence in taking the post and cuming vnto thame without fear of ony thing that might happin for the tyme. So als soone as the dolphine of France saw the king of Scotland, he ran and gatt him in his armes, and shew him that the king his father would be greattumlie rejoyced of his coming, considerring how it stood with him; for a litle befor, his eldest sone, quho was duik of Orleance, was poysoned in ane chappell be ane Italiane, quhairat the king of France was heavilie displeased. Bot the coming of the king of Scotland and the said dolphine cam quhair the king lay att ane efter noone's sleip in ane chamber, att the doore of the quhilk his sone, the dolphine, rapit verrie rudlie, quhilk moved the king himselff to inquiryre who it was that rapit so to vnquyet him. The dolphine answeired, "Sir, it is the king of Scotland com to sie your grace, and to comfort yow." The king of France hearing this, braid him from his bed, and oppined the doore himselff and receaved the king of Scotland in his armes, thanking

God that he had taine ane sone from him, and sent him ane sight and meitting of that noble prince, quhom he wold esteme as his awin sone, gottin of his awin bodie: and gave command to the dolphine to awaitt vpoun the king of Scotland, and to serve and reverence him as his eldest brother, and sie that sick servandis as war with him war intertain-ed according to thair estate. Bot the king of France tarried no longer thair, bot caused sound his trumpettis, and all men to hors, and also he caused get fresch horss to the king of Scotland. That night they raid to ane palace callèd * * * * and thair remained that night.

This meane tyme the king of Scotland oversaw not to give dew reverence to the quejine with the rest of hir dames, and in speciall to Magdalene, the kingis dochter, quho was ryding in ane chariott, becaus shoe was seiklic, and might not ryd vpoun hors. Yitt notwithstanding all hir seiknes and malice, fra tyme shoe saw the king of Scotland, and spak with him, shoe became so enamoured with him, and loved him so weill, that shoe wold have no man alive to hir husband, bot he allanerlie, quhairof the covnsallis both of Scotland and France lyked nothing thairof: for thei war certified be doctoris and physitianes, that no successioun wold

cum of hir bodie, be reasoun of hir long seiknes, and that shoe was not able to travell out of the realme to no other countrie, quhilk if shoe did, shoe wold not have long dayes. Yitt nottheles, the ardent love that this gentlvoman buire to the king of Scotland, caused hir father, the king of France, consent vnto hir marriage with the king of Scotland; and to that effect desired the king of Scotland to the same, who consented haistilie thairto, for the love that he buire to the king of France. Also he knew that thair was great proffeit and freindschip to be gottin at the king of France hand; and syne the gentlvoman being his eldest dochter; he thought it was not guid to him to refuse that honorabill offer. So, as I have said, the king of Scotland consented to marrie hir, quhilk efter, when he cam to Pareis, was triumphantlie solemnizat in that citie. That is, the king and counsall of France on the ane pairt, and the king of Scotland with the most pairt of the nobilitie on the other pairt, in forme and effect as after followis: That is to say, the king of Scotland sould tak to wayff and marie, in presence of God and his holy kirk, Magdalene, eldest dochter to the king of France; to treat hir and honour hir according to hir estate and noble birth, quhair of shoe is descend-

it, and give hir sick lordschipes and landis in conjunct fie as becam hir honorabill estate. And also the old band betuixt Scotland and France sould be ratified and renewed againe betuixt thir tuo kingis, to indure and stand for evir, lykas it was first contracted be thair predecessoures; and farder, for this caus, for the love that the king of France buire to the king of Scotland, he sould delyver to him with his dochter, within yeir and day immediatlie following, all and haill the sowme of ane hundredre thousand crounes besydis ony other thing, or ony other pleasour that the king of Scotland would desir of him.

The principall headis of the contract being formed in this manner, the king of Scotland sent for mony of his lordis and barrones to cum to him and honour him in the solemnizing of his marriage, and to be present at Pareis the day appoyntted, in thair best array, for the honour of Scotland, as they would doe him speciall honour and service. Thir lettres being seine be the lordis of Scotland, both spirituall and temporall, they war greattumlie rejoyced thairat, and so many as the king writt for to France to his grace, addressed thamselvis haistilie to cum to him, everrie ane verrie weill furnished and attyred according to thair.

estaites; and they that passed to France war six earles, six lordis, six bischopes, and twentie great barrones, quhilk might best pas for the tyme. And when they cam to Pareis at the day appoyntted, they war heartilie receaved be the king of France, and counsall thair of, and weill interteined, everie man according as behoved his estat; and also the king of Scotland was richt rejoyced when he saw his subjectis so obedient to doe him honour and service. This being done, the marriage was solemnized in the cite of Pareis, in Notorodamus kirk, about the tent hour of the day, in presence of God and that honorabill congregatioun, quhilk was the king of France, his nobilitie and counsall, on the one pairt; the king of Scotland, his nobilitie and counsall on the vther pairt, whose names war tedious to rehearse; for thair was nevir sick solemnitie nor sick nobilitie seine in France in on day, as was at that tyme thair. For through all France that day thair was justing and runing of horss proclaimed, with all other manlie exercise, as also skirmishing of schipes, through all the coastis and firthis; so that in tounes, landis, seas, firthis, villages, castles, and toures, thair was no man that might have hard for the reard and noyse of cannone and vther muni-

tioun, nor scarslie have seine for the vapouris thairof. Thair was also within the toun of Pareis, cuning carveris, and profound nigromanceris, who be thair airt caused thingis appear quhilk wes not, as followis; fowleis flieing in the air, spoutting fyre on otheris, riveris of watter runing through the toun, and shipis fightand thairvpoun. Thir conceitis war maid to the great wonder of such as tendit to the furth setting and solemnizing of that day, to doe the king of Scotland and the king of France, thair maisteris, honour and pleasour. Efter this triumph was endit, the king of Scotland sought leive to pas home to his awin countrie, with his new queine, and his nobilitie; and the king of France, sieing that the king of Scotland and his spous would depairt home to thair awin countrie, incontinent he gart prepar schipes and galleis, with victuallis and artaillie, with captanes and companies of men of warre, to convoy the king of Scotland, his sone in law, and his dochter Magdalene throw the seas, that thei war saiflie preserved be thame till they cam to thair awin countrie, and also he gart prepar tua great schipes with cannoneis and culveringis, with hagbuttis of found and crocebowis, with all other ordinance and veaponis. Quhan thir schipes war weill prepar-

ed, the king of France presented thame to the king of Scotland, to vse thame as he thought guid : quhilkis schipes remained in Scotland ane long tyme thairefter ; the ane of thame was called the Sallamander, and the vther the Morischer. The king of Scotland had tuo of his awin at that tyme ; the ane of thame was callit the Marrivillibe, and the other callit the Great Lyon, quhilk war the principall schipes that brought the king and queine through the sea. Efter this the king of France caused his maister stabler pas to his curie, [wher his great hors wer,] and waill tuentie of the best of thame, and bairdit thame with harneis, and presented thame to the king of Scotland. And furdder, he caused his armourer gang to his guardhous, and tak out twentie stand of overgilt innamelled harneis. Syne he called vpoun his dochter Magdalene, the queine of Scotland, and caused hir pas to his wairdrop with hir gentlvoman and ladies, and take hir stickis of claith of gold, velvet and satines, etc. as shoe pleased to cloath hir and hir maries, or any other tapistrie of pail or robbis that shoe could find in his wairdrop. Heirefter he gave hir ringis, tablettis, with monie other coastlie jewellis ; so that this young queine brought ane infinite substance in Scotland with hir.

After this the king of Scotland took his leive of the king of France, the queine, court, and haill nobilitie thair of: and so did his young queine Magdalene, and cam to the Newheavin of Deip, and thair remained ane day or tuo till the wind was fair. So they imbarked and pulled vp sailles, and cam swiftlie through the seas, and landit the fyft day in Leith, with all the navie, quhilkis war about the number of fyftie schipis of Scottismen, Frenchmen, and strangeris, that convoyed the king throw the sea. And when the queine was cum vpoun Scottis eard, shoe bowed hir down to the same, and kissed the mould thair of, and thanked God that hir husband and shoe was cum saiff throw the seas. Thairefter, they passèd to the abbey of Hallirudhous, thair to remaine, quhill the triumph of hir arrival and velcome home war maid: quhilk began to provyd in all pairtes of Scotland, and speciallie in Edinburgh, and vther head burghes, quhilkis war all commandit to mak provision for the queines recept. But this grit triumph and great mirrines was soone turned to dollour and lamentatioun; for the queine deceast this same day, that hir grace landit, quhilk maid ane dollorous lamentatioun, that was maid in burghes, for triumph and mirrines wes all

turned in deregies and soull massis, quhilkis war verrie lamentable to behold*.

But we will latt hir rest with God, and returne againe to France; to the duik of Vandones dochter, quho take sick displeasour at the king of Scotlandis marriage, that shoe deceast immediately thairefter: quhairat the king of Scotland was highlie displeassed, thinkand that he was the occasioun of that gentlvomanes death.

Also efter this, the king sent againe in France in ambassadge, my lord Erskine, the cardinall, the archbischope of St Androis, and that in marriage for the duchess of Lorane, and dochter to the duik of Guyse. And thair the saidis ambassadoures, with adwyse of the king of France, and counsall, aggried the marriage in all poyntis, according to the king of Scotlandis pleasour: syne send him word with all diligence, that they had endit the matter, and ap-
poyntted the day of marriage, as the king thair maister had given thair commissioun. The king hearing of thir tydingis, was verrie glaid of thair expedition, and gart prepare haistelie ane navie of shipes, and the lord Maxwell admiral thairof, with vther lordis and barrounes, to the number of ten thousand, by

* This is probably erroneous, for it appears that the queen survived forty days.

the kingis awin housold, quhilk passed in companie with the king himselff. Also, the king gave the lord Maxwell a commissioun to pas to France to sie the queine married, and thairefter to resave hir in keiping, quhill he brought hir to the Newheavin, and thair to embark als soone as the wind would serve thame: and this the lord Maxwell and his navie exped with all diligence, and haisted the kingis commissioun as he was directed, and past to the Newhavin with the queine, and pulled vp sailles, and merched towardis Scotland with hir. Bot, because the cardinall got no charge in the queines home coming, nor was not lattin in the schip with hir, he was discontent with the lord Maxwell, the admirall, quhilk gendrit hattred thairefter, as yea sall heir. Also, the queine landit verrie pleasant in a pairt of Fyfe, callit Fifenes, besyd Bukony, quhair shoe remained quhill horss cam to hir: and the king was in Sanct Androis for the tyme with monie of his nobilitie, awaitting on hir home coming: who, when he hard word that the queine was landit in sick ane pairt, incontinent he rod furth with all his wholl lordis, both spirituall and temporall, and mett the queine, and ressaved hir with great joy and mirrines, of fearssis and playes

maid and prepared for hir. And first she was ressavat at the new abbey yett. At the east syd thair of, thair was maid to hir ane triumphant fears, be Sir David Lindsay of the Mont, knyght, alias lyon king of armes, who caused ane great cloud to cum down out of the heavens abone the yett: Out of the quhilk cloud, came doun ane fair ladie, most lyk ane angell, having the keyis of Scotland in hir hand, and delyvered tham to the queines grace, in signe and tokin, that all the heartis of Scotland war oppin for ressaying of hir grace: with certane orationes maid be the said Sir David to the queines grace, desiring hir to fear God, and to reverence and obey hir husband, and keip hir awin body cleine according to Godis will and commandementis. This being done, the queine was ressavat in hir lodging, quhilk was called the New Innes*; and thair shoe lodgit for that night, till on the morne, at ten houres, shoe passed to the abbey kirk, quhair shoe saw manie lustie lordis and barrones, weale arrayed in thair abulyementis againes hir cuming: also the bischopis, abbotis, monkis, and channones, maid regular and great solemnitie in the abbey with mess, songis, and playing on the

* Or New Freiris.

organes. Efter this, the queine was ressavcd be the king in the abbey to hit denner, quhair thair was great mirth of shalmes, trumpettis, and diverss vtheris instrumentis all that day.

Vpoun the morne, the queine passed throw the toun, and visited all the colledgis and kirkis thair of, and when shoe came home back to the pallace againe, shoe confessed to the king that shoe nevir saw in France so many pleasant fearsis in so little rowme, as shoe did that day in Scotland: for shoe said it was showin to hir in France, that Scotland was bot ane barbarous countrie, desolat of all pleasant commodities: bot now shoe saw the contrair. Also, shoe said, shoe nevir saw more fair personages of men and vomen as shoe had seinc that day in so little boundis. At thir wordis, the king was greatlie rejoycel, and said to hir, "Forsooth madame, yca sall sie better or yea goe."

The king and queine remained in St Androis the space of fourtie dayes, with gritt mirrines, sick as justing on horss, and running at the listis, archerie, and hunting, and all other princelie games. Thairefter the king and queine went to Couper in Fyfe, and dynd thair, and syne passed to Falkland, and thair remained sewin or aught dayes in hunting of

the fallow deer : syne passed to Stirling, quhair he was weill reëssaived in the toun and castle with gritt mirrines. Thairefter his grace cam to his awin pallace in Linlithgow, and remained ane day or tua, quhilk pallace the queine highlie commendit, saying, shoe nevir saw a more princleie pallace. Thairefter the king and queine cam to Edinburgh, quhair the queine was ressaived with gritt triumph and richlie revairdit and propyned be the proveist and tounschip, both with gold and spyces, wynes, and curious playes maid to hir be the said toun; and so did the rest of the head burges of Scotland, when the queine passed to thame*.

So it passed over meikle of ane yeir, quhill at the last the queine became with chyld, and when hir tyme cam brought home ane sone, and was delyvered at Sanct Androis. He was

* [And so was ther lykwayes in Dundie, the space of sex dayes very magnificently treated be the toun, where the queen made her entres. Att the whilk tyme, the earle of Arroll was maried with the earle of Lennox eldest sister, for the tyme, he advyce of the kingis majestie, with great solemnitie of mariage, the archbishop of Glasgow and Caitnes being present with the king; this was done upon the fyfth day of August, in the yeir of God precciding. And St Johnston every man of thame received ther queen and mistress as it became them to doe.] Modern MS.

honorabilie baptized with great triumph; as was the wse of the countrie, and was styll'd James Stewart, duik of Rothsay, and prince of Scotland, and was brought vp and nurished in St Andros, the space of ane yeir: quhill within short quhill thairefter, the queine his mother conceaved and bure ane vther sone. quho was named Robert Stewart, duik of Albanie, earle of Fyfe and Monteith.

In the yeir thairefter the king tuik purpose to repair all his castles and pallaces, thinkand that God had sent him sick successioun, that he neided not to cair bot for his awin pleasour, and so he becam insolent and vnmyndful of Godis benefitis that he had bestowed vpoun him, and was meikle addicted to his awin fantasies, and sensuall lustis in vsing his awin particular affaires, rather be counsall of his awin flattring domestickis, than be his lordis and honorabill counsall, and be the advyce of certane kirkmen, who pat him in beleive that he might vse his bodie as he pleased, for they sould stand guid for his soull; who so abused this noble prince, that they maid him to vnderstand that all his lordis and barrone, and all vther gentlnen, that red the word of God in Inglish, that they war all plaine heritickis, and not worthie to live vnder ane Cris-

tiane king; but deserved rather to be brunt, and their landis confiscat, and brought to the kingis vse. So with thair godlie papisticall counsall, they intyssed and abused this noble king, and cused him to break his promeis to the king of Ingland, quhilk he had maid be the adwyce of his nobles and counsallouris, and to ratifie the same had interchanged his great seall with Ingland, for amitie, vnitie, and peace, intymes cuming: and to that effect the king of Ingland cam to York, to meitt the king of Scotland, in the yeir of God 1540 yeires: for the king of Ingland was verrie desirous heiroyf, as may be seine be his reasonable offerris in his commissioun given to his ambassadoures, who presented the same to the king of Scotland, to witt, lord Williame, and ane bischope, quhilk was verrie reverentlie delyverit, in the king of Inglandis name, and was heartilie ressaived be the king of Scotland, and that be the counsall of his wayff and honorabill lordis, who thought the king of Inglandis commissioun ane reasonable desir, and not to be denyed, bot rather to be grantit for both the weilfares of the realme; for the king of Inglandis commissioun was nothing to derogate the king of Scotlandis honour in any pairt, bot rather to advance him according to his

princlie estat. For the king of England, think-
and he had no man so sib or tender to him as
the king of Scotland, his sister sone, nor thair
was no creatur that he loved or favoured so
weill, except his sone Edward, quhom he
thought to put in his governance, becaus he
was aiged, and thought his lyff would not in-
dure, thairfoir he desired effectuouslie to speak
with the king of Scotland, his sister sone, that
he might mak him duik of York, and gover-
nour of England, and put his sone in his handis
and keiping, thinkand that the king of Scot-
land was most native and kynd to him, and if
any thing hapened he would defend him; for
the king of England had evir ane suspitioun,
that if God callit himselff, some of his nobles
would assay, and put at his sone Edward, and
trouble him in the bruiking of his authoritie
and realme, as efter they did. Thairfoir this
noble king send his heartlie mynd and com-
missioun to the king of Scotland, as said is,
and for no other caus, bot to have joyned both
the realmes in peace, vnitie and love, that they
might have beine the more able to defend
thamselffis againes thair enemies, when tyme
occurred. Bot the vngodlie papisticall bis-
chopes, with vther kirkmen, tuik sick fear, be-
leivand that if the king of Scotland and the

king of Ingland had mett, thair papisticall impyre sould have beine abolisched, becaus the king of Ingland laitlie befor had abolisched all idolatrie, and cassin doun the abbayes, and maid the word of God to be preached, and have frie passage through all Ingland. The bishopis taking sick feare of this, that if those kingis mett, it sould become so of thame, thair abbeyes and rentall, quhairfor they kest all the meanis they might to stay the said meiting, sometyme by craft and ingyne, and vther quhylls by persuasionnes, saying to the king that he sould not want als lang as thair war ane kirk benefice in Scotland, and gave the king in the meantyme, and assigned to him threttie thousand pundis of yeirlye rent, out of thair benefices, to defend the libertie of thair kirk, and present professioun, etc. Yitt for all this the king was weill myndit to have keipit his promise to the king of Ingland, and that be adwyse of the lordis, whom the bishopis persaved counsalled the king in this manner, that they could not be content thairwith, and would faine have beine revengit on the lordis and gentlmen, quhom they beleived was counsallouris of the king to meitt with his vncl the king of Ingland, quhilk they desired on nowayes sould be done, becaus they

also beleived thair sould be no lyff for thame, and tharefoir devysed to put ane discord and variance betwixt the lordis and gentlmen with thair prince ; for they delaited, and gave vp to the king in writt, to the number of thrittie scoir of earles, lordis, and barrones, gentlmen and craftismen, that is, as thei alledgit, wer all heretickis, and leived not after the Pope's lawis, and ordinance of the hollie kirk ; quhilk his grace sould esteme as ane capitall cryme, to ony man that did the same. Fardder, they said to the king, " Quhat neidis yow goe to Ingland, for onie commoditie or advancement that the king of Ingland will give yow ; we sall mak your grace to have at home of your awin in great abundance, so that ye will doe justice as we devyse vpoun thir heretickis, quhilkis we have givin yow in billis, quho ar all great reidares of the Old and New Testament in Inglis, with vther abuses which we sall latt yow sie, and tak vpoun our consciences, that all thair landis, rentis, guidis, and geir apperteanis properlie to your grace, for thair contempt of our hollie father the Pope, and his lawis, and high contempt of your grace' authoritie. Thairfoir, will yea doe justice to vs heirintill, and we will give yow ane hundreth thousand pundis in money, yeirlye rent, to augment the

patrimonie of your croun in tymes cuming, to supply your warres againes our old enemies of Ingland, or ony other natioun that happiſes to assail your grace ; and we will desir no more of yow bot that yea will give vs ane temporall judge, quhom we will devyse, to doe justice on thir wicked heretickis, quhilk wilbe to your great honour and proffeit, and to the advancement and manteaning of the hollie kirk, and our father the Pope's lawis. Quhairfor we have no doubt but the Pope will rewaird your grace honestlie for maintaining of his authoritie."

The king, hearing thir fals intysementis of the bischopis and frieres againes God and his servandis; the king nothing moved thairwith of the love that he aught to God and his true subjectis, bot rather affected the covetousnes and abusiounes of the bischopes, answered in this manner: "I would faine that yea had justice, that the hollie kirk may be defendit, and the libertie thairof ; thairfor nominat ane man whom yea will chose, that will execute justice most sharplie and rigourouslie for punishment of these heretickis ; and I sall allow him, and give him my power and commandement, quhairvir he findis ane heretick to burne him, and put him to death at your pleasures."

Off this answeir the bischopis war verrie weill pleased, and choosed Sir James Hamiltoun, the kingis familiar servand. They knew him to be one of thair awin sect, and ane blood thristing man, without fear of God. So the said Sir James acceptit the office verrie willinglie, and was weill content thairwith that the king had givin him that authoritie, saying to his grace, that he did him nevir sic ane pleasour, as in making him criminall judge to those unhappie heretickis, beleiving suirle to gaine lairglie thairby, and said that for the kingis pleasour and the kirkis, he sould mak thame hott in the fire. Bot the Almightye God sieing the abuse of this king, and the blind furie of Sir James, he haistilie turned the kingis favour vpoun Sir James, that he was tain and cassin in prisson, and shortlie thair-
after shamfullie justified, as yea sall heir after-wardis. For this Sir James Hamiltoun, lord Evandaill, being on of the kingis principall and familiar servandis, the king had directed him, in the moneth of Apryll and yeir of God 1541 yeires, to Rose, to repair his castle thair, that he might remain thair at his pleasour, the space of ane yeir, togidder with his queine and court, and to this effect gave the said Sir James thrie thousand crounes to fie maissones, to

compleat his work in the Rose of Bute; and on the morne thairefter the king past out of Edinburgh to Falkland, and as he was ryding out the way, thair cam on to him, called James Hamiltoun, the sheriff of Lithgowes sone, quho, falling on his knies, desired verrie effectuouslie to speak with the king; quhairat the king was in some pairt effeired, and askit at him quhat moved him, for it was earlie in the morne, befoir onie man moved. This James answeired, "I have certane thingis to show your grace, for the weilfair of your awin lyff and bodie." Then the king turned him haistilie about, and gave him ane ring aff his finger, and said to him, "Gae thy ways to the chequer hous, quhair thow will find the thesaurer, secritair, and Mr Houshold, and show thy mynd to thame, as thow wold doe to me, and bid thame hear the as I war present myselff, and doe thairefter as they think guid." With this the king passed to the Ferrie, towardis Fyfe, and the said James went to the chequer hous, as he was commandit, and thair he fand the thesaurer, secritair, and Mr Houshold, and thair presentit the kingis ring, and token to thame to hear his mynd, quhilk the lordis acceptit, and desired him to say on, and thair to shew to thame sundrie poynttis of treasoun on Sir James Hamiltoun, how at sundrie tymes

he was purposed to slay the king, and yitt continewed in the same mynd, when he fand oportunitie to doe the same. Quhilk whan the lordis hard this dittay givin in be Sir James Hamiltounes awin native coussing, they gave it no credence, bot they concludit that they wold tak the said Sir James and put him in prison, quhill they hard the kingis will thairintill, and immediatlie they arose all thrie, and tuik ane lyon herald with thame, and went to Sir James' ludging in Edinburgh, and tuik him out, and pat him in waird in the castle of Edinburgh, thair to remaine induring the kingis will. Bot when the said Sir James was takin and put in the castle, and no causs told him, nor knawin quhairfoir, he was highlie-commov- ed at his imputteris, and writt ane letter to the king, showand him how he was vsed, and put in waird be the saidis persones, who war his awin familiar companiones, and thairfoir desired his grace that he would caus releive him out of captivitie, that he might cum and speak with his grace. Bot when the king hard tell of his imputting, he was not content thairwith, and writt to the captane of the castle of Edinburgh to delyver him, showand to him that they should have no thank that war his imputteris. Quhilkis, when the secritar, thesaurer, and maister houshold hard, they war not content,

thinking, besyd the kingis doun look at thame, the said Sir James wold not fail to acquyt tham commoun if he obtained the kingis pardoun at that tyme. Quhairfoir they passed all to the king, and shew him the terrible dittay givin in on Sir James Hamiltoun, and givin vp be his awin freind, James Hamiltoun; and said to him, if his grace left sick dittayes vnpunished, that he wold not be long king of Scotland; and so they put the king in sick ane fray and evill will againes Sir James, that he cam suddenie out of Falkland, quhair his grace was for the tyme, to Edinburghe, and brought the said Sir James out of the castle to the tolbooth, and gave him ane fair assyse of the lordis and barrones, whio convicted him of sundrie poynttis of treasoun, and thairefter was headed and quartered, and his landis annexit to the croun; quhairof the countrie marvelled meikle, that such ane man of so gritt credence was so suddenie put doun, by ony manis expectatioun: quho judgit it to be the will of God that had chanced it so to Sir James; for he was evir ane tirrant and ane blood shedder, and conqueist his landis and geir with litle or nocht: and last of all, for the pleasour of the bishopis and kirkmen, tuik vpoun him to be judge criminall to burne guid subjectis and Godis servantis.

And this same yeir ane storme, callit the evill stoorme, begane the fourteine day of Yuill, and continewed untill the tenth day of Appryll thairefter.

Be this we may sie, that when ane man standis oftentimes in highest degrie in our sight, they are neirest ane fall in the sight of God, as we may sie the lyk exampell in the buik of God itself, in the historie of Haman and Mordecay, when Haman stood in highest and greatest credit with the king Assuerus, his maister, he could not be content with his poore brethraine, the Jewis, bot he wold purchase ane commissioun from the king to put all thir forsaidis to the dead, and to confiscatt thair geir to the kingis proffit: and all this he did for invy of poore Mordecay, becaus he wold not worschip him and flatter him in his auctoritie, contrair to his conscience. Thairfoir he caused prepair ane gallous for him, quhairon, be the providence of God, and prayer of the people, he was hangit himself, and his guidis, geir, and land, givin to Mordecay in escheit. Richt so the furie of Sir James Hamiltoun, quhilk he thought to have exerced vpoun Godis servantis, be the counsall of evill and seditious bishopsis, was in the end suddenlie turned vpoun himself. Bot we will latt him rest, and returne to our purpose.

The king tuik ane great suspitioun of his nobles, thinkand that aither ane or vther of thaine would deceave him, and sumtyme in the night thair appeared to him visiones in his bed. For he thought Sir James Hamiltoun, quhom immediatelie befor he had gart execute, appeared to him, and pulled out ane sword and strak aff his right arme.

Att this tyme the king of Ingland cam to York, and thought to have mett with the king of Scotland according to his promise; bot the bischopis would not latt the king of Scotland keip his promeis, quhilk highlie displeased the king of Ingland, and gart warres aryse vpoun the borderis. Againe Sir James Hamiltoun appeired to the king in his sleip, saying to him, "Thow hes gart slay me vnjustlie, for I was innocent of these crymes quhair-of I was convict. Though I was ane sinner againes God, yitt I nevir failed to the; for if I had beine als guid ane servant to him as I was to the, I had not died that dead. Bot now, thairfoir, thow sall vant both thy armes, and sall remaine in sorrow ane quhyll, and then I will cum and stryk thy head from the." With this the king vaikned out of his sleip in ane great fear, and shew the same to his secret servandis who war about him for the tyme, quho war discontent of his visioun,

thinkand that they would hear haistilie tyd-
ingis of the same. Bot on the morne word
cam to the king that the prince was verrie
seik, and lyk to die. When the king hard
thairof he haisted him to Sanct Andros, bot,
or he could cum, the prince was depairted,
quhairat the king was verrie sad and dollorous.
Notwithstanding, immediatelie thairefter the
post cam out of Stirling to the king, showand
him that his second sone, the duik of Albanie
would not leive; and, or the king could be in
Stirling, he was also depairted. Quhois de-
partoures war both within fourtie aucht houres:
quhilk caused great lamentatioun to be in Scot-
land, and in speciall be the queine, thair mo-
theris. Bot the queine comforted the king,
saying, they war young eneugh; and God
would send thame more successioun: And
within schort quhill thairefter the queine con-
ceaved and became with chylde, to the great
comfort of the king and realme.

Soone efter this the bordoures of Scotland
begane to break, and thair was great hirschipe
and oppressioun, both by sea and land; quhilk,
when the king saw, he sett his intend to re-
meid the same, and send certane bandis of
men of warre to the borderis to defend thame
againes the Inglismen. Soone efter this ane
parliament was sett, to be haldin at Edinburgh,

the tent day of Julij, anno forsaide, and thair the king maid revocatioun of all thingis that he had done in his lese aige, that might hurt his patrimonie, or libertie of his croun, and also he ratified and amplified all thingis that he had done in amplifieing of his patrimonie, and in speciall the annexatioun of the lordschip and landis of the South Illes, with the tuo Kintyres and thair castellis, with the landis and houssis pertaining to the Douglassis, and the earledome of Angus; the landis of Jedwart forrest, with the landis and lordschip of Bothwall; the landis of Tamtallon, with all other landis pertaining to the banished Douglassis. And sicklyk the landis and lordschip of Glames, with the lordschip of Annerdaill, the castle of Draffan, with all other landis perteaning to Sir James Hamiltoun, quhom all he had latlie forfalt; and maid ane act that it sould not be lesum to his successouris quhatsumevir, king, queine, governour, nor regent, to dispose ony of the saidis landis from his patrimonie, aither be frie act or reclamatioun, or yitt be setting in few ferme, or ony way to restore the aires thair of againe; and that it sould be lesum to the nixt crowned king to mell with the saidis landis as the rest of his predecessouris patrimonie, but ony proces of law. Thir statutis and lawis being finisched, the king took

ane taxatioun of fyve shillingis off everie pund land through all Scotland, quhilk raise to the sowme of threttie thousand pund Scottis, to sustaine the kingis men of warre.

The yeir following the king maid his sister sone, the earle of Huntlie, leiftennent of the borderis, and gave him chaarge of ane armie of ten thousand men to defend the saidis borderis, and placed in companie with him, to be his counsallour, ane wyse and stout knyght, callit Sir Walter Lindsay of Torphichen and lord of St Johne, who was weill practiced in warres, both in Italie and Spaine, and had oftymes foughltin againes the Turkis in defence of the Christianes, being in companie with the lord of the Rhodis in Italie, and thairefter cam in Scotland and served the king, and cam in great credit with his grace. For albeit the earle of Huntlie was leiftennent, he had the wholl governement of the armie. Yitt the king commandit, when occasioun offerred, that the earle of Huntlie sould have the vanguard when evir they had a doe with Ingland, quhilk was haistilie thairefter. For thir tua noblmen passed out of Edinburgh to the borderis the tent day of Julij, anno 1542 yeires. Bot soone efter the Inglismen getting word of thir forces, advertaised the king of Ingland heirof, who sent ane gritt armie, quho gar-

nisched Bervick, Norrem, and Wark, and skirmished with the Scottis the space of ane moneth, bot they got litle vantage, quhill at the last, the Inglismen purposed to burne Jedwart and Kelso, wher the leiftennent lay with his armie; bot it was not so quyetlie provydit, bot the leiftennent hard som thing thairof be certane spyes quho knew the Inglismenis purpose, quhilk was to cum in the dawning of the day. Bot the Scottis prevented the tyme, and passed furth to the feildis about midnight, and watched starklie the Inglismenis incuming. So, in the break of the day, the watchis cam and shew the leiftennent that the Inglismen war at hand within the space of thrie mylles, with ane armie of ten thousand men, weill arrayed, in thrie battellis, and the leaderis and governouris of the saidis armie was the earle of Angus and George his brother, who befor war banished in Ingland; and with thame in companie was my lord Bowes, and certane of the Peirceis of Northumberland, with Sir Ralph Lather, [Sadler] Sir Johne Witheringtoun, and Sir Williame, his brother, with monie other guid captaines and souldiours, to quhom the king of Ingland comittit the credit of his armie. Then the Scottis governour, as I have showin, took no fear thairof, but passed manfullie fordward

to meitt thame, puttand his men in this or-
dour. That is to say, he thought guid to
give this lord of St Johne the vangaird, and
with him ane thousand speares, and ane thou-
sand bowmen, and fyve hundreth hagbut-
teris: and the leiftennent himself in the great
staill, and with him four thousand speares, tuo
thousand with bowis, and twa handit swordis,
quhilkis war in number sax thousand men:
and then day light began to shyne, and the
armies appeared in vtheris sight; and when
the Inglise armie perceaved the Scottis ar-
mie in thair sight, and they not forseine thair-
with, thair courage slakned, and they took
purpose to give backis and flie. On the
vther syd, this noble captane, lord of St Johne,
persaved that the Inglismen war not lyk to
give battell, cryed for swift horssis to give
thame the skirmisch. With that the Inglis-
men gave backis and fled, quhairon follow-
ed this noble lord verrie scharplie, and slew
and tuik many of thame in the chase, to the
number of twentie four scoir of gentlmen that
war takin prisoneris, and ten scoir slaine.
This happened in July, in the yeir of our re-
demption forsaid. Thair was also tain in this
skirmisch, the lordis Bowis and his brother,
Sir Johne Widderingtoun, and sundrie guid

men of the Pearces of Northumberland : for all the best men war taine, and the most pairt of thame that war slaine war commoutpes. Thir newis past haistlie to the king of Scotland, who rejoyced greattumlie when he heard of the skirmisch betuixt the Scottismen and the Inglismen : thinking that thairefter he would have the more quyetnes vpoun the borderis in respect of his victorie. Bot he was deceaved in his opinion ; for how soone the king of Ingland hard tell of thir novellis, he awowed solemnedlie to be revengit thairof, and for that effect send ane herald in Scotland and gave vp trewis with the king of Scotland, his sister sone ; declairand to him be his heraldis, if he would not keip his promise to him, he sould tak such ordour with him as he tuik with his father befoir : for he had yitt that same wand to ding him, that dang his father ; that is to say, the duik of Norfolk leivand, that strak the field of Floudon, who slew his father, with many of the nobles of Scotland.

The king of Scotland thought thir vncouth and sharp wordis from his vnkle the king of Ingland, that he sould boast him so with the duik of Norfolk, who was his great enemie, and had done no lese to him nor he spak. For the quhilk caus, he haistilie directed his am-

bassadoures to Ingland, to witt the bischop of Aberdeine, and the laird of Dairsie, who was Mr Housold to the kingis majestie ; thir tuo ambassadoures war sent with all diligence with sick comissioun as the counsall of Scotland could devyse, to stay king Harie's furie for the tyme, quho cam neir Scotland at that tyme, bot all for nought. Thir ambassadoures cam in Ingland to king Harie : they gatt no presence of the king : but he held thame thair ane long tyme, till he had prepared ane armie to cum in Scotland with the duik of Norfolk, to the number of fyftie thousand men, of the waill of all Ingland : giveand the duik of Norfolk ane chairge to pas in Scotland with the forsaid number, and caus the king of Scotland keip his promeis, or elis give him battell. The king of Scotland heiring of thir newis, and getting no answeir from his ambassadoures, incontinent gart mak proclamationnes through all Scotland, to all manner of men betuixt sixtie and saxteine, to compeir at Edinburgh vpoun the Borrowmuire thair of, with fourtie dayes victuall, to pas with the king quhair he pleased, in defence of the realme, contrair the Inglismen quho war cuming to invaid thame. So the king assemblit at Phala with his haill lordis, barrones, and subjectis, and all manner of man betuixt sixtie and sixteine : quho war

numbered be officeris and heraldis, and found to the number of fyftie thousand men, by thame that war in the vanguard with the earle of Huntlie, quhilkis war ten thousand men of bordereris; so the wholl number of the Scottis armie arose to the number of thriescoir thousand men, quhairof thair was twentie thousand in stand harnes, and twentie thousand in jack and spear, and twentie thousand with bowis and haberschones, and two handit swordis. Thair was of artaillie and cannoneis, six great culveringis, and six battartis, six double falcones, and threttie double peices, and fourtie cartis with poudre and vther kynd of ordinance in warre, quhilk became ane prince to have againes his enemies. And the second day efter they cam to Phala, and marched forwardis towardis Lawder, to ane place callit the Barley Haugh, neir to the kirk of Lather; and thair cam word from the earle of Huntlie, the kingis lieftenant, that the duik of Norfolk was cuming over Tweid, and had send ane message to him, desiring battell of the king, or els to keip his promeis to the king of England. Off thir wordis the king was commoved, and caused the lordis assemble thaimselfis to ane counsaill at Lather kirk, and the king shew his mynd to tuo of his lordis: for he cam not himself to

that convention, but directed his mynd and petition as after followis. That is, he desired his lordis, that he might be revengit vpoun the duik of Norfolk, his enemye, quho cam in Scotland to invaid him at the king of Inglandis command, with his wholl puissance. Vpoun this, the lordis took thame to advyce, and to give the king an answeir thairvpoun. Then the lordis being at the counsall, they fell in disputation amongst thaimselfis, sayand they could not with thair honouris and saiff consciences pas guidlie forward at that tyme, becaus of the band that was betuixt the king of Scotland and the king of England, quhilk bond and promise was sealed with the gritt seal of Scotland, and subscriyvit with thair handis. But yitt they promised fo the kingis grace, if the duik of Norfolk cam forward to invaid thame, they would defend thair realme, bot they would not pas in England at that tyme. This answeir was sent to the king, presentit be the earle of Glencairne, quhair-with he was not content. Bot in this meantyme, ane wach cam to the king and schew him, that the duik of Norfolk was back againe over the watter of Tweid, and was camped vpoun Inglish ground. When the king heard that, he was verrie desirous to have followed

him in Ingland, and fight with him. Bot the lordis on nowayés would consent thairinto, nor that the king should cum ony fardder at that tyme, in respect that the duik of Norfolk had nather brunt nor slaine, nor done no kynd of evill on Scottis ground at that tyme. They said they had the lese will to follow him on Inglis ground.

Nevertheles, the kingis mynd was verrie ardent on battell on Inglis ground, quhilkis when the lordis perceaved, they passed againe to the counsall, and concludit, that they would not follow the duik of Norfolk at that tyme for the kingis pleasour, becaus, they said, that it was not groundit vpoun no guid caus nor reasone, and that he was ane better preistis king, nor he was thaires ; and vsed more of priestis counsall nor of thaires. Thairfoir, they had the les will to fight with him : and said it war mair meritoriouslie done to hang all sick as gave the king counsall to break his promeis to the king of Ingland, quhairof they perceaved great inconvenientis to befall. Quhen they had thus concludit, and the king being advertised thairof, the king depairted with his familiar servantis to Edinburgh : bot the armie and counsall remained still at Lather, quhyll on the morne that they gott word

that the duik of Norfolk was back againe to England. And immediatlíe the lordis of Scotland pulled vp thair pavilliones and cam homwardis, quhairwith the king was displeased with his lordis becaus they would not pas in England and fight the duik of Norfolk, and said to thame, he should aither gare thame fight or flie, or els Scotland sould not keip him and thame both : and in his rage and furie gart mak ane proclamatioun to all earles, lordes, barrones, gentlmen, and frieholderis, to be in readines within twentie four houres to follow the king quhair evir he pleased to pas. So on the morne the king passed to Peibles, and desired all the foresaidis persones to follow him and meitt him thair, to pas with him quhair he pleased, and thairefter he passed to Moffat, and then to the water of Esk, and send in his lordis and gentlmen in England, to burne and slay, waist and spoill the countrie, quhilk was sair againis the lordis willis, and would in no wayes tak the matter in hand, nor consent that the king sould pas in England at that time himself, to vse sick rigour and malice to his mother' brother, etc. But the king sieing they had no will to serve his appettit, he gart mak ane proclamatioun in the midis of his armie, to admit Oliver

Sinclair, on of his familiar servantis, to be his lieftennent to his armie, and caused heraldis to chaarge the saidis leigis to obey Olipher Sinclair, to pas with him quhairevir he pleased, as they would awaite vpoun the king himselff. So the king depairted ane litle from the armie to Lochmabane, to remaine thair till he sould sie quhat successioun sould cum of his interpryse. Bot the lordis sieing the kingis wilfull misgovernance towardis his awin commonwiell, and that he had maid Oliver Sinclair, one of his awin servantis, lieftennent, quhilk office was evir accustomed to be givin to noblemen; the nobilitie consulted and concludit amongst thamselffis, that they would not fight vnder Oliver Sinclair's banner, for they knew him not for no lieftennent nor governour to thame, and concludit all, that they had rather be all taine and had to Ingland to king Harie, or they abod the king of Scotlandis furie exerceed on thame, be the counsall of his priestis and courtiouris. For the preistis, as I have shewin befor, abused the kingis grace so, that they patt greatt dissentioun betuixt him and his lordis, and gave him to vnderstand, that they war all heretickis, becaus the red the old and new testament in Inglis: and thairfoir, as they alledgit, war all worthie to be

brunt, and thair geir confiscatt, to the kingis profite. Off this, the courtiouris war weill content, and mony of tham consentit thairto, becaus they war the bishopis pencionares; thinking, if sic thingis cam forwardis, they would gett sum casualties. Quhairby the king was abused, and tint all the heartis of his nobilitie, to quhom he gave no credit, nor they hoped no guid in his hand, and thairfoir, they tint heartis, and had no will to raise fire in Ingland.

Bot the Inglismen sieing so gritt ane armie of Scottismen come so haistilie vpoun thame, to the number of fyftie thousand men, by bordereris, the Inglismen war agast when they saw thame so suddenlie in form of warre; for the number of the Inglismen was bot small. Yitt they conveined thamselffis schortlie, for they war all bordereris, and could all ryd and prick weill, and held the Scottismen in playing, be thair pricking and skirmishing, till the night cam doun on thame, and they war in sick strait ground, and knew not the passages, so they could not reteir in so guid ordour as they sould have done, and they had no viveris, nather hors meitt nor manes meitt, to tarrie that night, nor guid guydis to gyd thame throw the passages. But they retired vncun-

nandlie to ane place called the Staige Myre, quhair mony of thair hors laired, and syne they cam to the watter of Esk, quhair the sea was in, and the watter four fathome deip quhair the host cam over. Yitt in all thir straittis they gott no skaith of Inglismen, quhill at the last, they cam to ane place callit the Solane Mose, quhairthrow nather horse nor man might pas, so that they laired all thair horssis, and mischeived thame, and than it was force to thame to tak thair fute. Bot when the Inglismen perceaved the Scottismen at this straitt, they cryed with sick hideous shouttis and cryes, that they so effeired the Scottis that they brak and fled, and many of thame war takin be the Inglismen and had in Ingland. So the hoast was disperst, and the night grew mirk vpoun thame that they knew not weill quhair they war. Throw this vnhappy misgovernance many of the Scottis war takin and had in Ingland, and especiallie gritt lordis and barrones of Scotland war had to Londoun to king Harie, and was richt honorable entertained be him. Bot thair was bot ane small number slaine in the field. To witt, thair was slaine of the wholl, on both sydis, bot twentie four, quhairof was nyne Scottismen and fyfteen Inglismen.

Quhen thir novellis cam to the king of Scotland quhair he was for the tyme, how his lordis war taine, and had in England, and his armie defaitt, he grew vondrous dollorous and pensive, sieing no guid succes to chance him over his enemies. Than he begouth to remord his conscience, and thought his misgovernance towardis God had the wytt thair of, and was the principall caus of his misfortune : calling to mynd how he had brokin his promise to his vnkle the king of England, and had tint the heartis of his nobles throw evill counsall and fals flattrie of his bischopis, and these privatt counsallouris, and his courtiours, not regarding his wyse lordis counsallis. He knew that this was the caus of his misgovernance, and shamfull chance, quhilk he had sustained at that jorney ; quhairthrow he tuik sick melancholie and displeasour, that no comfort nor consolatioun in no wayes, by no manes witt, might appease his present grieff, nor bring him to rest. He past to Edinburgh, and thair remained aught dayes with great dollour and lamentatioun for the tinsell of his leidges, and shame to himself, quhilk was, be misfortoun and evill government, brought to shame and dishonour : quhilk pat the kingis grace in dispair that he could nevir recover

his honour againe. This being done, the king past out of Hallirudhouse to Falkland, and thair became so heavie and dollorous, that he nather eat nor drank that had guid digestioun, and so became so vehement seik that no man had hope of his lyff. Then he sent for certane of his lordis, both spirituall and temporall, to have thair counsall. But or they cam he was verrie neir strangled to the death be extreme melancholie. Be this the post cam out of Linlithgow schowing the king guid tydingis that the queine was delyverit. The king inquyred whidder it was a man or woman. The messinger said it was ane fair dochter. The king answeired and said, "Fairweill, it cam with ane las and it will pas with ane las:" and so he commendit himself to the Almightye God, and spak litle from thenforth, bot turned his back to his lordis and his face to the wall.

Att this tyme Sir David Beatoun, cardinall of Scotland, standing in presence of the king, sieing him begine to faill of his strenth and naturall speich, held ane throughe of paiper to his grace, and caused him to subscryve the samyne, quhairin the cardinall wreatt quhat he pleased, for his awin particular weill: thinkand to have had the auctoritie and pre-

heminnence in the governement of the countrie. Bot we may knaw heirby that 'the kingis legacie was verie schort; for in this meantyme he depairted. As I have showin you, he turned him vpoun his back, and lookit and beheld all his lordis round about, and gave ane litle lauchter, syne kissed his hand, and gave it till all his lordis about him, and thairefter held vp his handis to God, and yeildit the spirit.

This noble prince, as I have showin yow, depairted at Falkland, in his awin pallace, the twentie day of December, in the yeir of God 1542 yeires.

This noble prince, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse and noble lordis, and keiped his bodie cleane from harlotrie, and the counsall of the papistis, bischopis, and courtiours, he had beine ane of the most noble princes that evir rang in Scotland, or in any other Christiane kingdome; for he was full of policie and honestie in his beginning, and did many guid actis, sick as bigging of pallaces and castles, and in bringing great artaillie in Scotland, and all kynd of guid artificiares in this realme, quhairthrow the same became verrie civill and pollitick in his dayes, in respect of the former aige. But fra tyme he was

abused with papistis, and would not suffer the word of God to have frie passage, quhairthrow he ought to have beine instructed, first, in the fear of God, and nixt in the administratioun of justice. Bot he would nevir hear the samyne, becaus it teached sundrie to amendement of lyffe, and speciallie adultereris: and the king knawing himselff to be one of these, he had the les will in the admonitioun of the contrair thair of. And be the contrair, fals flattring and idolatrous bischopis flattered him, and gave him to vnderstand that he might saiffie vse his bodie at his pleasour, sayand that they would stand guid for his soull. Throw the quhilk abussis he had the wors succes in his letter dayes in all his interpryss, and speciallie in his successioun and ofspring, quhilk God had blissed him with and bestowed vpoun him, they war takin from him, and depairted in thair infancie. The causs of the quhilkis curss may be weill ascryved to his misbehaviour, both towardis God and his subjectis, proceeding from the counsall of godles bischopis, and greidie courtiours, quhyll at lenth, when this noble prince perceaved and fand his conscience vakned, he tuik sick high displeasour and high melancholie, that it strangled him to the death. Sua we will latt

him rest with God and his angellis, desiring all princes, governouris, and magistratis, whom God hath placed in auctoritie and high places, first to beginne at God, and leid thair lives according to his lawis, and to vse the counsall of his wyse and honest lordis and counsallouris, and to dispyse all flattring idolateris, who gave this noble prince to vnderstand, in respect of worldlie auctoritie and preheminance vpoun earth, thairfoir he might vse his bodie and himselff as he list.

HEIRE BEGINES THE CRONICLES AND HISTORIE
OF MARIE, QUEINE OF SCOTLAND, AND QUHAT
HAPPENED IN HIR TYME.

IN the yeire of our lord ane thousand, fyve hundreth, fourtie and thrie yeires, in the moneth of Januarie, manie of our lordis and barrones of Scotland war lying captive at London for the tyme, being takin at Sollene Mos, who war weill intertained be king Harie, and frielie delyvered at thair awin pleasour, but when they war all at thair awin mirrines, word cam to the king of Ingland that the king of Scotland was depairted, quhilk, quhen the king of Ingland hard, he sighed sair, saying, "Voe is me, for I will nevir have any king in Scotland so sib to me againe, nor on quhom I favoured so weill, and desired so effectuouslie to have had his conference. But alace, evill and wicked counsall wold not latt him speak with me, quhilk would have beine both to his joy, comfort, and myne. Bot I traist the Al-

mightie God sall work all for the best, as he does evir to all sick as beleives in him." Quhen the king of Ingland had maid ane end of thir lamentatiounes, he inquyred fardder tyddingis of the messinger, who shew to him that the queine of Scotland was delyverit of ane dochter, and no man successioun was left of his nevoy, quhair of the king of Ingland paused long, and conjectured the thing in his mynd, quhilk afterwardis cam to pas; that is, that the facilitie of the lordis of Scotland, and be the kirkmenis counsallis, and love that queine mother buire to France, that this counsall would rather consent to dispose this young queine in the handis of the French king, rather than his, albeit shoe was of his awin blood. Thairfoir this noble king sett himselff be all meanis possible to labour to bring the tuo realmes to peace, vnitie, and allyance, to the great profseitt of both the saidis realmes. And to that effect he rewairdit the lordis of Scotland verrie richlie that war captives in London, and delyvered thame frielie in Scotland, desiring nothing of thame bot that they wold be his freindis in tymes cuming, and that he might have thair guid vote in the counsall of Scotland when tyme occurred, for his affaires and commounweill of both the realmes. And thir

lordis promised no les faithfullie to him, bot that they would doe all they might to bring both the realmes to ane so fare as thei could, saifeand thair honoures and lawtie. So thir lordis depairted from king Harie, and cam in Scotland the twentie day of Januar; anno for-said.

Soone efter this, the cardinall, David Beaton, desired to have the authoritie and government of Scotland, thairfoir, he made moyane with queine mother, the earle of Ardgyle, the lord Seatoun, and sundrie other lordis of the realme, showing to thame the kingis commisioun and letter will, quhilk he had gotten from his grace for to be ruller and governour of Scotland, and tutor to his docht^r enduring hir lese aige. Off this, queine mother was weill contentit, becaus, shoe knew him to favour France and all thair proceidingis: for the quhilk caus, shoe consented to him, and so did monie of the lordis throw hir moyane. The earle of Arrane, heiring of thir proceidingis, was not weill content thairof, becaus he had the just title of the government at that time: quhairfoir, he conveyned his kine and freindis and all noblmen that would doe for him at that tyme, showing thame the cardinallis intention; desiring thair counsall

quhat was best to be done thairanent; and to frustrat and stope the cardinall of his intencion. So schortlie they concludit, and bad him stap forward to his awin richt, and not to be stopped with no priest to reive him of his autoritie, quhilk God had maid him to fall into his handis: and to that effect, for his fortification, he send in Ingland for the earle of Angus, and George his brother, who war verrie wyse and naturall men, and knew weill the qualities and conditiones of Scotland, for they had oftymes beine in trouble, quhairfoir they war the more able to have given him counsall in that instant trouble. This lord hearing this, send ane messinger incontinent for the earle of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, thinkand he would doe tham that pleasour to resaive thame thankfullie, quhilk would caus thame to be the more fervent in his defence, contrair the cardinall and his complices.

This message being directed to the earle of Angus, he was verrie glaid thairof, and addressed himself haistilie, and came in Scotland, efter he had remained in Ingland fysteine yeires: who was heartilie ressaived be the earle of Arrane, thinking that, by his coming, he was the more stark againes his enemies nor

he was a befoir. But when thir novellis cam to the cardinallis knowledge and queine motheris, they war not content with the earle of Angus nor his brotheris coming, knawing that they would favour the king of Ingland in his affaires better than France. Thairfoir, the queine gart labour, and so did the earle of Arrane, to have ane conventioun of the lordis to sie quhat was best to be done for the governement of the realme of Scotland. The quhilk conventioun conveyned at Edinburgh, the tenth day of Februar, anno forsaid, with all the whole power and puissance on both sydes. That is to say, the earle of Arrane, his kine and freindis, and all the lordis that would taik his pairt. On the vther pairt, the cardinall, with the assistance of the queine, and all that would doe for thame. Thir hail lordis conveyned at Edinburgh the day forsaid. Thair they concluded and choised James Hamiltoun, earle of Arrane, to be protectour and governour of Scotland, becaus they knew him to have the just title and richt thairof. But the cardinall and his factioun appailled from thair electioun, and tuik instrumentis thairvpoun.

In this mean tyme, thair cam ane herauld out of Ingland, desiring ane conduct for ane

ambassadour to cum and talk with the governour for the weillfair of both the realmes, quhilk was granted incontinent to him, be advyse of the counsall. And also thair was ane herald sent in Ingland at the tyme with the king of Scotlandis ordour of the garter, quhilk he had receaved from the king of Ingland, and maid knyght thair of, as vse was, and also to delyver the same ordour againe, when evir the knyghtis depairted of the same ordour; to witt, ane abbot maid according to the ordour, with ane gairter of gold sett with precious stones, and all other ornamentis according to the ordour, was delyvered againe to king Harie with great reverence, who rejoyced meikle of the thankfull delyverance, and rewardit the herald richlie for his paines, and dispatched him againe in Scotland hastilie, and send efter him ane ambassadour callid Maister Saithler, quho was weill receaved in Scotland be the governour and his counsall, and remained in Scotland the space of thrie monethis: as the vse of the ambassadeures is in all countries to remaine als long as they have peace betweine the tuo realmes. And in the same tyme, the same ambassadour travelled verrie bussilie with the governour and lordis to have peace and marriage betuixt the

tua realmes, lyk as his commissioun buire him from his master the king of England, whose mynd was to have both the realmes to peace, vnitie, and friendschipe, that they sould not be separat in no manes dayes living. But the governour and his counsall concludit haistilie, and consented both to the peace and marriage, and contracted the same most ampie vnder interchanging the great seall of England for securitie of both the realmes, and Scotland in lyk maner. This being done, the ambassadour sent his ambassade to king Harie, his maister, showing to him of his success and of his laboures, and remained himself in Scotland, and was weill intertained be the governour and his counsall, etc. Bot when the cardinall and the rest of their factioun, and the kirkmen, hearing of the contract of peace and marriage betuixt England and Scotland for the veifair of both the realmes, they ware in no wayes content thairwith, bot raged in furie, as if they had beine by thair myndis : and would nevir consent to this honorable contract without the king of France had beine content thairwith ; and caused the queine and all that would doe for hir in Scotland to labour contrair the same ; and rested nevir till the same was dissolved in plaine parliament, quhair of

the Inglis ambassadour was verrie evill content: and so was the king of England, who awowed to God solemnedlie, that he sould be revengit of the same.

In this mean tyme, the kingis ambassadour of England was evill intreated be the bischopis, quho scorned and mocked him, and be the toun of Edinburgh also, quhom king Harie was soone avengit vpoun, for he sent ane armie haistilie in Scotland be sea, quho landed in West Leith, in ane pairt callit Grantoun Grange, the third day of Maij anno forsaïd, to the number of fourtie thousand men of warre, and thairefter passed to Leith, and remained thair certane dayes, and thairefter passed vp to Edinburgh, and was avengit vpoun it as king Harie had commandit: that is to say, they brunt the toun with all the kirkis thair of: and speciallie, the kingis pallace of Hollirudhous, and schott at the castle, bot it was so strong, they could not win it, and certane of the castle men isched out and skirmished thame from the said castle, and wan sum of thair artaillie, and sum they left behind thame brokin, quhilk remaines yitt in Scotland. This being done, they sieing they could be no better of the said castle, they passed from it to the castle of Craigmillar, and brunt

and distroyed it, with sundrie vtheris tounes and villages neir adjacent thairabout, and syne past to Leith againe, and remained thair certane dayes, quhill thair schipes war readie, and syne brunt the toun at thair way coming; and this Edinburgh and Leith gott for dishonouring the king of Inglandis ambassadour.

Soone efter this, the lordis conveyned to ane counsall, quhair they consulted and considerit, that the cardinall was the wytt of the peace breaking betuixt Scotland and Ingland, quhairthrow cam meikle hirschip and slauchter to both the realmes, and in speciall to Scotland. Quhairfoir, the said lordis concludit to put the said cardinall in captivitie, that he sould not abuse thame any more. And when he was sittand among the lordis, they gart officeris lay handis on him, and put him in ane quyet chamber, quhair he remained ane whyll to dantoun his proud heart: bot nevirtheles, he could nevir considder his dewtie towardis God, nor the commoun weill of the countrie. But heirefter, they delyvered him to my lord Seatoun, quho tuik giftis of gold from him to escape out of captivitie: quhilk he did pairtlie for the giftis of gold and silver, and pairtlie for the queines pleasour. And so this wicked and vngodlie cardinall, how soone he was frie of his waird, he begouth to raige lyk ane lyon

that war loused of his bandis: nor no summondis nor admonitioun might caus him to obey the authoritie. Bot for evill will that he buire to the governour, he sent to France with ane supplicatioun of the queines to bring home the earle of Lennox for his support againes the governour, promiseing to him to mak him governour of Scotland, and husband to the queine. With thir heightis and fair promeisses made to this lustie young lord, caused him to leive the realme of France, quhair he was weill intertained and esteimed be the king thair of, and gart him cum in Scotland in this hope, as I have schowin yow.

In this meane tyme, this wicked cardinall having great substance of gold and silver, intysed the earle of Ardgyle and manie other lordis to ryse and rebell againes the governour, and tak his pairt with the number of ten thousand men, quhair thair was queine mother and hir dochter, the princes, giving thame to vnderstand, that the governoures purpose was to pas to Lithgow, and tak the young queine and put hir in the king of Englandis handis, and to keip the band that was maid befor be England. But the governour, knawing nothing of this matter and treasonable rebelloun, that the cardinall had vrought againes him, assemblit certane lordis that would tak

his pairt att Edinburgh, and thair purposed to pas to Linlithgow, and to give thame battell: and to tak the young queine out of hir pal-lace, and to put hir in his awin keiping in quhat strength he pleased. Bot to this, the lordis would not consent on no wayes, nather that shoe sould cum in the gover-nouris handis, becaus he was neirest any to hir; bot thair was certane men chosin to pas betuixt the tuo armies to treat guid wayes, etc. And that the young queine should be takin and put in equal handis, to witt the lord Lindsay, the lord Erskine, the lord Livingston, and the lord Grahame. Thir four should pas to Linlithgow, and ressaive the young queine and hir mother, and have thame both to Stirling, and thair to keip the young princes as they would answeir to God, and the commoun weill of the countrie, and as they would vnderly the paine of forfaltrie both of thame and of thair posteritie, that they sould observe and keip the castle, and the young queine thairin, quhill the counsall was fardder adwyssed. Vpoun thir conditiones, the go-vernour and the cardinall appoynted and skailled both thair armies, and met in Linlithgow, and was finallie aggreit be supplicatioun of queine mother; syne on the morne past to Stirling, with this young queine, accompanied

with thir four lordis, to whom shoe was given in keiping, and remained with her.

The haill lordis of Scotland conveyned at Stirling the tuentie day of August, anno for-said, and thair crouned the young queine with great solemnitie, plays and pharses, etc.

At this tyme the earle of Lennox cam out of France, and cam to the governour at Holli-rudhouse, and presented himselff befor his grace. The governour resseaved him verrie thankfullie; howbeit he was not content of his cuming, nor yitt of thame that send for him. Bot this young earle past haistilie to Linlithgow, with his kine and freindis, quhilk mett him to accompanie him to present the queine's grace. In this meane tyme he mett the cardinall, quho ressaived him thankfullie, and gave him monie fair flattering wordis, quhilk he nevir keipit ane word to him. Als soone as the earle of Lennox knew that the governour and cardinall war aggried togidder and appoyntted vpoun all things, he was not content thair of, knawing himselff to be deceived be the cardinall. Thairfoir he repented that he cam out of France so haistilie at the cardinall's request, seing he keipit not a word of his promeis to him, for he promised to mak him protectour of Scotland, and put the wholl authoritie in his handis, ay and quhyll the queine

war of lauchfull aige, and failyieing of hir that he should be king of Scotland, showing him that failyieing the queinis grace he had most richt thairto. Bot quhen the cardinal saw the governour so obedient to him in all his desires, and in speciall in delyvering the young queine at his requeist to the lordis forsaide, in this caice he rewed that he had maid the earle of Lennox to beleive so, and would faine have had the matter colloured if he could, and for that effect he caused queine mother intertaine him verrie tenderlie, and put him in hoip of marriage, quhairby shoe might pacify the earle of Lennox be hir love, that thairby he might be the better content of the cardinall in tymes cuming. Notwithstanding, the earl of Bothwall was at this tyme ane lustie young gentleman, and had ane guid presence in the sight of vomen, quhairby he intendit to have the queine in marriage, as the earle of Lennox did; and daylie thir tuo young lordis pursued the court and queine with great bravitie and coastlie cloathing, contending quho should be most galliyart in thair abuiyeamentis, renewing the same everrie day, and in vseing all kynd of playes and exercise on horss and foott, that became noblmen to doe; and speciallie quho might behave thaimselfis best in the quines sight, in dancing, louping, or any

other games, etc. But the earle of Lennox warred the earle of Bothwall at sundrie games, for he was brought vp in the warres of France, quhilk learned him the feattis of armes, and to exercise his pith to the vttermost. For the earle of Lennox was ane strong man, of personage weill proportioned in all his memberis, with lustie and manlie visage, and vent verrie strecht vp in his passage: quhairfor he appeired verrie pleasant in the sight of gentlwomen. As for the earle of Bothwell he was fair and quhitlie, sumthing hinging shouldered, and went sumthing fordwaird, with ane gentle and humane countenance.

Thir tuo gentlmen daylie frequenting the court, and exercising thaimselfis in this forme, everie on of thame beleived to obtaine his purpose at the queines hand; bot shoe did nothing bot gave thame fair wordis, that they might serve hir, quhyll shoe saw hir tyme expedient to give thame an answeir. But at the last, thir tuo lordis being ane great spaice at court, quhilk was great coast to thaimselfis, kin, and freindis, evir in reddines to doe the queine service, quhill at the last, the earle Bothwell inlaiked expenssis and passed home; quhill he saw fardder about him. Bot the earle of Lennox remained still at court, desiring the queine and cardinall to keip thair pro-

meis vnto him, or els to put him frielie in France againe, and in the meantyme to recompence him for his expenssis, that he had maid cuming in Scotland at thair desir. Bot of this desir the queine and cardinall was no wayes content.

In this meantyme Captain James Stewart of Cardonock cam out of France from the king, quho hard tell that the earle of Lennox was frustrat of his purpose in Scotland, for laik of money; thairfoir he sent the said Sir James in Scotland, with threttie thousand crounes to the earle of Lennox, to furth sett his honour: for the queine and cardinall had no will that he should have past aff off Scotland, bot to hold him as ane wand abone the governouris head: for this effect they gave the earle fair defferand answeiris, promiseand to him that all sould be weill at his pleasour. Bot when the earle perseaved that thair promiseissis was evir delayand, and tuik no effect, he begouth to grow angrie, and promised that he should have amendis of the queine and the cardinall, albeit that he should leive Scotland thairfoir, becaus they had brokin promiseis to him. So within short quhill he past home to his awin countrie of Glasgow and Dumbarton, and thair raised his haill kin and freindis, and all that would do for him; and in speciall he solisted

the earle of Angus, the earle of Glencairne, and the haill Cunnyngames, the laird of Tullibardin, with the wholl Murrays, and name of Stewart that doe for him, in the south-land, to the number of tuelff thousand men, and cam pertlie fordwardis, towardis Edinburghe, quhair the governour and the cardinall was. Bot they heiring tell of the earle of Lennox cuming, and of the great furie that he was in againes thame, and in speciall againes the cardinall, quho knew weill that the earl of Lennox was awaitting occasioun to be revengit ypoun him, and that he was ane guid man of warre, and had monie gentlmen to his wasselis, kine, and freindis that would weill abyd with him, quhairfoir they would not consent to give battell, nor fight with him at that tyme, becaus they knew him to be more pairtie nor they might be haistilie. Bot the earle of Lennox past manfullie to the seildis, sieing this, betuixt Leith and Edinburgh, in arrayed battell, and thair abod the governour and cardinall, provockand thame to fight with him or els to keip thair promise; and this he did the space of thrie or four dayes; quhill at the last the governour and cardinall send certane wyse men to the earle of Angus, desiring him effectuouslie to skail his armie, and he should have all his desires as he pleased, with ma-

nie vther fair heightes, maid be thame to the carle of Angus, quhill at the last, the said earle was drawin to thair effect, and counsalled the earle of Lennox to skaill his armie, quhair of the said earle was not content. So he schortlie passed hame to his awin countrie, with his kine and freindis, and thair to remaine quhill he saw sardder in the matter.

In this meantyme thair cam gold out of France to the queine and cardinall, to the number of threttie thousand crounes. This money, as was said, cam to the earle of Lennox, and was to be disponsed be the queines adwyse and the cardinallis; quhilk money landit at Dumbarton, quhair the earle of Lennox happined to be for the tyme. He sieing this money come in his gaitt, knowing weill it was the queines and the cardinallis and pass-ed to thame, and thought he should be revengit vpoun the expenssis quhilk the king and the cardinall had caused him to mak in his cuming in Scotland, to that effect and purpose, promissing to him that thing that they would not performe, quhairfoir he tuik the said money be the way, and applyed it to his awin vse; that is to say, he garnisoned and furnisched the castle of Glasgow, with men and munitioun, syne past himself to Dumbarton to remain thair a quhill.

But in this meantyme word cam to the queine, and the cardinall, that all thair money was takin be the earle of Lennox, and his servandis, quhairwith they war highlie displeased, and incontinent send for the governour to cum to Stirling to the queine and the cardinall, quhair they war for the tyme, and thair to tak consultatioun quhat was best to be done, tuiching the affaires forsaides. Bot they schortlie concludit in thair counsall to raise the bodie of the realme, and to pas fordward to Glasgow, to seidge the castle thair of, thinking to have gottin the earle of Lennox thairin, and be revengit on him as they thought guid. To this effect thei maid proclamatiounes in Fyffe, Angus, Stratherne, Lothian, Stirlingschire, with the baill wastland of Scotland, to meitt the governour, the day appoynted of the proclamatioun, to pas with him to Glasgow, to seidge the castle thair of, in manner forsaid. To that effect, they brought cannonees out of the castle of Edinburgh, with vther small artaillie and vther kynd of ordinance conforme thairto, and past furth of Stirling to the governour and cardinall, with the rest of the nobilitie, to the number of twelff thousand men, quhilkis cam to Glasgow the tuentie aucht day of March 1544 yeires, and thair laid ane seidge to the castle,

thinkand to have win it and gottin the earle of Lennox thairin Bot he was not thair. Yitt they continewed still at the seidge the space of ten dayes, quhill meikle of thair pouder and bulletis war spendit; and sieing they cam no speid of winning the said castle by force, they kest all meanis how they might have the same be moyane and fair promiseis, and to that effect, send messingeris to the castle to the captanes thairof, quhilkis war tuo brethreine of the Stewartis, Johne Stewart, and Williame his brother, quho war sones to the abbot of Dryburgh, promiseing to thame gritt giftis of gold and silver, and all thair gentlmen and servandis that war with thame, perteaning vnto thame in the said castle, sua they would render the same to the governour and cardinall, to be keipit and vsit at thair pleasour. Thir gentlmen heiring of thir offeris, and knawing of no releiff to cum to thame, was heartilie content, and gave over the said castle to the governour and cardinall, believand to have all promiseis keipit vnto thame, quhilkis war maid to thame befor the overgiveing of the said castle. But nevirtheles thair was nothing keipit vnto thame quhilk was promised vnto thame, bot immediatlie war shamfullie hangit efter they war tain out of the said castle, and none escaped of thame that war

thairin, but the tuo brether of the Stewartis ; quhilk was done be the cardipall without the governouris knowledge : quhilkis war takin and put in prisone induring the governouris will ; and thairefter, the said earle was summondit and put to the horne for not compeirance, and efterward was forfalt and banished, as is weill knowin.

The earle sieing the rigorous dealling with him be the governour and cardinall, thinking in his mynd that thair was no remaining for him in Scotland, he soone efter took his leive of his friendis, and passed in Ingland, quhair he was honorablie receaved and intertained be king Harie, quho gave him in marriage Margaret Douglas, who was dochter to the earle of Angus, quho bure efterwardis to the said earle of Lennox, fair succession, as we sall show heirefter. Bot we will leive him weill intertained in Ingland, and return to our historie, that is,

The governour and cardinall soone heirefter sett ane parliament, and forfalt the said earle and all his vassellis that held land of him, quhairby the governour obtained great sowmes of money for thair compositiones, albeit, he tint thair heartis for extreme dealling with thame.

In this meane tyme the borderes war all

brokin, both south, east, and wast, and gritt hirschip and slauchter maïd be the Inglismen and Scottismen, quhilkis war verrie lamentable to sie, and all be wilfulnes of the cardinall, who would have no peace keipit with Ingland without the king of France had beine content thairwith, quhilk was verrie fare againes the commoun weill of Scotland. Nottheles this continewed all sommer quhill the winter cam on, that the Inglismen had waisted all Mers and Tiviotdaill, and had takin monie of the strenthis thairof, and maid great slauchter vpoun the Hoomes, quhilkis vnlawfull warreswar exerced by Sir Ralph Ivers and Sir Bernard Lattoun, captane and leiftennent to the king of Ingland for the tyme, quho, be thair frequent incursionnes and burneing and slaying, they effeired the Scottis so that they war faine to tak on the rid croce and sweir thamselffis the king of Inglandis men, and subjectis to his grace, quhilk was great displeasour to the lordis of Scotland, quho at that tyme had no credence in court, nor durst not cum thairto, to drese thair bussines, for fear of the cardinall, quho misguydit the governour so, that the lordis durst not cum to give thair weill adwysed counsall for the weillfare of the realme, vnles they had the governouris and cardinallis assurance that they should not be troubled,

quhilkis wer verrie vnpleasant to all trew Scottismen, and verrie pleasant to Inglismen; for they sieing this divisioun among the nobilitie of Scotland, they steired thair tyme. So at this tyme they tuik the abbey of Coldinghame, and laid all waist to the castle of Dumbar.

Thir newis cam to the governour and cardinall, quhairof they war not content, and gart mak proclamatiounes haistilie, to all earles, lordis, barrones, frieholderis, and gentlmen, to be in readines, with aught dayes victualles, to awaitt vpoun the governour, and to pas with him quhairevir he pleased. So the governour first past to Coldinghame with twelff thousand men, of the quhilkis war monie nobles of the realme, sick as the earle of Angus, the earle Bothwall; the lordis of Erskin, Ruthven, Drummond, and Gray, with monie other nobles. Bot it was in winter, and the weather was extreame cold, and when they cam to Coldinghame, to the abbey, quhilk was keipit be the Inglismen, they laid to thair artaillie and seidgit it, and stood all the first night on thair feitt in arrayed battell, bidding the Inglismen to have givin thame battell, and in the meantyme shott at the house with thair cannone, and other small artaillie, till the breaking of the day; and when they saw that they cam no speid at the hous, and being informed that the

Inglismen was coming with ane great armie to reskew the same, [quhairfor the governour had no will to tarie, for he was in suspitioun with mony of the lordis and barrones that wes in his company, that they suld have put him in the Inglismenes handis, thairfor he tuik post and fled to Dumbar, and left the queinis artaillie in danger, behind him, of the Inglismen. Some gave counsall to brake the cannoun or the Inglismen gat hir, some said they wold pas away and leave hir; bott the earle of Angus and his brother said, "God forbid that we aither brak the queinis canown, or leave hir behind ws for feir of the Inglismen: I had rather fecht to dead in defence thair of, and I awow to God, I sall either sie hir frie in the castell of Edinburgh, or elis die thairfor." With this he caused his haill kin and freindis to licht on fute, and go besyd the artaillie in arrayed battell, and left it nocht quhill he pat it frie to Dumbar. The Inglismen wer comeing fast forward to haue fochtin with the Scotismen at thair returneing, bot fra tyme they saw the earle of Angus vpon fute, in arrayed battell, and reteir so in ordour, they had no will to mell with him, because they knew him to be ane old man of weir. Be this the earle of An-

gus conquered to himself great honour in bringing hame of the artaillie. Bot fra tyme the Inglismen hard of the governouris haistie departure, and the maner thair of, they became werie proud, and thocht no les than to conques all the southwest pairtis of Scotland, evin to Edinburgh.]

Soone efter this Sir Ralph Iveres and Sir Bernot Lattoun passed to London to king Harie, to be revairdit of him for thair guid service in conquering monie landis of Scotland, quhilk they gave the king to vnderstand that they had done, and had conquiest all fra Forth south, and had subdued the same; sick as Mers and Tividaill, and Lawderdaill, and had caused all the inhabitantis of these boundis to tak on the rid croce, and to becum sworne subjectis to king Harie, and to pay him thair maillis and dewties, evin as they had done to the king of Scotland of befoir. Thairfoir thir captanes desired their rewaird of king Harie for thair laboures, quhairat he was greattumlie rejoyced, and promised to rewaird thame honestlie. Quhairfoir the king gart call the duik of Norfolk to be adwysed with him quhat reward should be givin to thir men quho had conquiest so manie Scottisemenis landis. The duik of Norfolk answeired haistilie, " Sir, yea

sall be my adwyse give thame all the Scottis landis quhilkis, they say they have conquered, quhilk if they bruik it, I think thame weill worth the same." The king said, " My lord I think it too much; for indead it hath cost me threttie thousand pund Sterling." The duik answeired, " Nevirtheles, Sir, yea sall be my advyce give thame no les nor thair awin conquies, quhilk they say is so great; that the countrie may know your liberalitie towardis manlie men and guid warrioures: and it wilbe ane occasioun to thame to be the more fervent in keiping of the same, quhilk is your enemies landis, and quhair they say they have conquest Mers and Tividaill, quhilkis a verrie plentious countries of cornes and bestiall, and many manlie men dwelling thairin. Quhairfoir, Sir, yea sall mak thir tuo championes lordis of thir tuo schirrefdomes and and tak thame holdin of your grace; and they to caus the countrie men hold of thame." Off this persuasioun the king was heartilie weill content to give thir landis to the forsaidis tuo championes, and caus thame mak thair chartoures and evidentis conform to the same; and adjoyued his great seall for confirmatioun thairis; and bad thame pas in Scotland, and tak s. c. lxxv poun his expenssis, and he should furnisch thame thrie thousand men of warre.

for yeir and day vpoun his expenssis, forby bordereris that would tak thair pairtis.

Thir captanes war glaid of the kingis benevolence towardis thame that he had givin thame sick lordschipis and sick men of warre to defend thame. Quhairfoir they kest thame haistilie to Scotland to tak seasing, and cam to Jedward the aucht day of March, anno for-said: and war in companie fyve thousand men, to witt, thrie thousand that cam with the captanes, and tua thousand bordereris, that war purposed hallilie to tak thair seasing of Mers and Tividaill, and thairefter to pas to Hadingtoun, and syne to Edinburgh, if thei war not stopped.

Quhen thir newis cam to the governour and lordis of Scotland, they war discontent thair-with, and in speciall the earle of Angus, and the lord Home, quho had most pairt of thair landis and rentis, and leivingis, in the saidis countries. The earle of Angus said in a great raige, "Albeit the king of Ingland would cum himself in proper persone, he should not without stryff gett a seasing of these landis, quhilkis my father and forbearis have conqueist and defendit thir monie yeires bygane, and we war evirmore wont to doe the Inglismen tuo evill turnes for one." So the earle of Angus cam haistilie to Edinburgh, to

the governour, shewing him, if he leathed still at home, vsing the counsall of the preistis and cardinall, he would tyne all Scotland, or els be chased out of it, or els be tributter to the king of Ingland; "yitt though yea and all the lordis of Scotland ly by, God willing, I sall defend the same, quhilk my forbearis hes conquiest, and mantained with the blood of their bodies, or els sall die in defence thair of, and I awow to God, or they tak seasingis in my landis, I sall beir southfast witnessing to thair instrument, and sall prepair sharper penes and rider ink for the same nor they believed to find." To this answeired the governour, quhat is your will that I doe thairintill, for I would that Scotland war holdin at its accustomed libertie and friedome. At this tyme I have few to pas with me to resist the Inglismen, and when they ar all gathered far fewer than I can lippin to. The carle of Angus answeired, "My lord, yea have the wyte of that yourselff, that vses not the counsall of the nobilitie of Scotland, quho wold be partakeris of all thingis, that they concludit thamselffis. Bot yea ar altogidder rulled be the cardinall and kirkmen, quho hes beine the occasioun of bringing meikle trouble to Scotland, and was nevir fund present at the affputting thair of; for if yea would be counsalled be the nobilitie,

yea might doe als guid ane turne as if yea war native prince : and for myselff I salbe befoir in all adventouris for defence of the countrie and commounweill; for I had rather die with honour in defence of myne heritage, quhilk I conquiest nevir, nor live and tyne it sleuthfully in my time." Quhen the earle of Angus had endit, the governour said, " My lord, I wold pas fordward if I had any folkis with vs to defend ws againes our old enemies." The earle of Angus answeired, " Gae fordward with thame yea have, and caus mak proclamationes haistilie, to all earles, lordis, barrones, and gentlmen to follow in defence of the realme." Be thir wordis the earle of Angus persuaded the governour to ryd fordwardis to Melros, and thair abod that night, quhill the rest of the nobilitie of the realme sould cum to thame, for they war few in number to ryd fordwardis againes thair enemies, for the governour and the earle of Angus both, passed not thrie hundreth horss in companie, quhom they thought but ane small number, againes the Inglismen quho war cum that same night to Jedwart, to the number of fyve thousand men, to tak thair seasing, as I schaw befoir, of thair conquiesed landis. But they war advertaised that the governour was cum that same night to Melros, and the earle of Angus

with ane small number quhilk caused thame to tak the grēatter hardiment, and cam forwardis that same night to Melros, quhair they thought to have gottin the governour at thair pleasour. Nevirtheles he was quyetlie advertised of thair cuming, and retired himselff back abone the bridge of Melros, to ane place callit the Schiellis, quhair the earle of Angus counsalled the governour to remaine quhill the breaking of the day, and send ane trumpetter to Lawderdail to wairne all the gentlmen that war thairabout to cum to the Gallowscheillis, and meitt the governour thair. Be this the Inglismen cam to Melros, thinking to have gottin the governour thair, bot they missed him. Nevirtheles they remained all that night and spoiled the place, and syne when day cam returned to Jedwart. In this meantyme cam certane men of Fyffe, that had riddin all that night to the governour, and mett him at Gathensyd, fornent Melros, in guid ordour; to witt, Normond Leslie, maister of Rothies, with my lord Lindsayes servantis, kine and freindis; with sundrie vther barrones and gentlmen of Fyff, sick as the laird of Lochlevin, and vtheris of the wast pairt of Fyffe with him; quhilkis war in the battill to the number of tuelff scoir able gentlmen, with jack and spear. Off thair coming the governour was verrie rejoiced, and

tuik sick courage, that he past haistilie forward efter the Inglismen, quho war marching fast to Jedward, and tarried ane quhill at Libbertoune's croce, to sie quhat pürpose the Scottis wold tak, and quhat they meined towardis thame. Bot the Scottis sieing this, they passed southwast from Melrose, round about Ancrum, lykas they wold have nothing to doe with the Inglismen. The Inglismen sieing this, they marched forwardis neir Jedward, till they cam to ane place callit the Sandie Calsey, and thair the passage was so straitt that they might not pas bot tuo men thick, quhilk spendit long time ere his armie cam thorow. In this meantyme the laird of Buccleugh cam posting to the governour, with ane small number, showing to him that the rest of his folkis war coming within six mylles, als fast as they might. Thairfoir he counsalled the governour and the earle of Angus, and all thair companie to light doun on thair foott, and send thair horss to ane hill head, back quhair the artaillie was, and draw thamselffis to ane laich place out of Inglismenis sightis, so the Inglismen wold beleive they war all turned and fled back, quhilk wold mak the Inglismen to break and be the more cairles, thinking they wold gett all thingis att thair pleasour. As the laird of Buccleugh said, so it was done. So

the Inglismen perceaved the Scottismen to ryd out of thair sightis, beleivand that they had tain the flight for fear of thame, sayes with ane gritt voyce and clamour, " fy latt ws mak haist, the Scottis are all fled, we sall have all as we list." With this they cam so fast back efter the Scottis, halflingis out of ordour, running quhill they war almost out of breath; to witt, the first battell that cam fordward to have chaised the Scottismen, was Sir Brime Latoun, and Sir Robert Bowis; and with thame in the midst of the battell, ane thousand speares, and on thair right wing fyve hundreth hagbutteris, and on the left wing fyve hunder bowis. Then followed efter thame Sir Ralph Iveris, and ane thousand hagbutteris, and ane thousand bowis, with all the bordereris and countrie men, both of Ingland and Scotland, who had severed with thame, and had tane on the rid croce, and sworne to tak thair pairtis. Thir men, I say, cam furiously fordward, thinkand the Scottismen had beine fled. But when they cam neir, and saw thame stand in guid ordour, they war not content with thame-selfis. Yitt they perceaved thame so few in number, they thought thame nothing to thame, for indeid the Scottismen passed not fyve hundreth men, quho war divydit in tuo companies, that is to say, tuo hunder speares, with the

earle of Angus, and thrie hundreth with my lord governour. Bot when Sir Brime Latoun and his hoste saw thame stand in this manner, he cam furiously fordward sounding thair trumpettis, with ane awfull courage to fight. Bot the Scottis, nothing effeired heir-of, cam pearlie fordward, and encountered thame verrie cruellie. Be this the bowis, hagbuttis and artaillie schot on both sydis, both with ane terrible and hideous sound lykas the crack of thunder, quhilk was terrible to sie; it wold caus cowardis to be knawin. Bot nevirtheles the battell joyned so cruellie, that they might not be seine for the stour and reik of the powder. Bot the Scottismen had waited thair tyme, quhill the sun was goeing wast about, and the day drawing down neir evin, and they had both the sun and the wind quhilk was ane gritt vantage to thame: for that blew the reik and smoak of poudre vpoun thair enemies of the greatt battell, that was beyond thame, that they might not sie quhat became of thame, nor yitt of the Scottis. And also the Scottismens speares war longer then the Inglismen's be fyve quarteris, or ane elne, quhilk, when they joyned with the Inglismen, they had thame all rivin down or evir the Inglismenis speares might touch thame; and so they rusched thame so rudlie to the

earth, that the noyse thairof was lyk the roaring of the sea. Bot at the last the Inglisch vanguard was so dung vpoun the great battell, with so great strokis and sair, that both the vanguard and great battell war schortlie discomfit and overthrowin, and the captanes thair of cruellie slaine, and manie other gentlmen of Ingland with thame, to the number of fyve hundreth gentlmen and men of warre, and fourscoir taine, and the remnant chased to Roxbrughe. Then the governour soundit his trumpetis, and returned his armie to thair standart againe, and syne fell on his knies and thanked God of the victorie that he had sent to him, by the expectatioun of man; for thair was nevir hard nor seine, in Scotland nor Ingland, so few in number to fight, win and give battell with so many and so great ane armie, to win the victorie without slaughter, for thair was nevir ane Scottisman slaine bot tuo, and not that in the battell, bot with the great artaillie slaine reckleslie. Bot thair was slaine of the Inglismen at that tyme, Sir Brine Latoun, captane of Norhame, and Sir Ralph Iveris, quho was leiftenent to the king of Ingland, with manie vtheris gentlmen of Ingland, quhilkis I neid not to rehearse at this tyme, and also thair was monie gentlmen tain, to witt, Mr Howard, the queine's vnclie; Mr

Huchesone, maister of York; the Herones and the Salbies, and also lord Bowis and Sir Johne Widdrington, with mony vther knightis of the borderis of Ingland, with mony vtheris, etc. But the haill number that war takin and slaine at this battell war sixteine hunder Inglis-men, and bot tuo Scottismen slaine, as I have schowin yow, quhilk was thought ane great marvell quhairevir it was knowin. This battell was strukin in Tividail, in Ankrum Moore, the yeir of God 1545 yeires.

This being done the governour called for the earle of Angus and tuik him in his armes, and praised his manheid and wisdome, and guid service done vnto the queine and to him; and also thanked George Douglas, his brother, saying he would remove all suspitioun that he suspected to tham anent the guid will that they buir to Ingland; they had manfullie showin thamselffis in the contrair. Fardder, he cryed to the laird of Buccleugh, and said he was the occasioun and instrument vnder God that they war victorious that day, be his guid counsall and singular manhood; also he thanked the earle of Rothes, the laird of Lochlevin, with all vther gentlemen, saying to thame that they had done the queine and him ane happie pleasour that day, and had conquised thamselffis perpetuall honoures. Quhen the governour

had thanked everie man according to thair demeritis, he gart mak proclamatiounes, chairging all men to pas with him to Jedward, and no man to pas home vnder the paine of dead. So they lap vpoun hors, and soundit thair trumpettis, and cam ryding throw the field quhair the dead bodies lay, and at the last they cam quhair the tuo campiones lay, to witt, Sir Brime Lattoun and Sir Ralph Iueris, and the governour gave command to burie thame, or els delyver them to thair freindis. Thairefter he road that night to Jedward to his supper, and spendit the provisioun that was made to the Inglisch captanes, and maid mirrie quhill on the morne. Then he caused ane herald pas to the mercatt croce, and maid proclamatiounes, that all the landis of Scotland quhilkis king Harie or his captanes had conquised, was then redemed by the help of God and guid subjectis. Thairfoir he besought all sick as war compelled to king Harie, to tak on the rid croce as his subjectis, that they would renunce the samyne, and becum trew subjectis to the queine's grace and to him, in the old maner, and all byganes to be byganes, and have ane fair remissioun thairfoir.

★ Then sum counsalled the governour to ryd forwardis to Wark and Norram, quhilk, for fear, was left waist be the Inglismen. Bot

becaus he was so few in number, and wanted artaillie, he returned home to Edinburgh, and thairefter to Stirling, with the queine, quho was rejoyced of his victorie.

Bot soone efter this the post cam to king Harie, and shew him how his men war defaitt in Scotland be the governour thairof, and all his landis, quhilkis his captanes had conquiest in Scotland, was redemed in on hour be manheid and cruell fighting, and that both his captanes, with monie other gentlemen, war cruellie slaine in oppin battell, and that monie of his knightis and barrones war tain prisoners in Scotland be the governour and the earle of Angus, and that thair was nevir a Scottisman slaine bot tuo. Att thir newis king Harie brunt lyk fire, and was boldened with ire, so that a long space no man durst speak to him. Yitt heirefter he send for the duik of Norfolk and vtheris his counsallouris, and lamented the caice vnto thame; saying, he nevir hard nor saw of sick ane misfortunat marvell, to so few a number of Scottismen to defaitt his armie. The duik of Norfolk answeired, "Sir, tak yea comfort; it is bot chance of battell, and God gives victorie as he pleassis: this tyme hath beine thairis, the nixt tyme wilbe oures as pleassis God; thairfoir your grace neids not paus for this small number, thair is men enew

in Ingland, and we sall have als monie in thair rowmes." Att thir wordis king Harie was somthing pacified, that it was trew that the duik of Norfolk had spokin: thairfoir he settled his mynd, and held out his purpose to France to have his pensioun. ¶

In this meantyme thair past an ambassadour to France, showing the king of France how the Inglismen war defait in Scotland, and quhat danger the realme stood into; desiring his grace for support of men of warre, assuring him that the Inglismen war resolved with all diligence to be repaired of that lose quhilk they gott att Ankrum muire, and also this ambassadour shew how the earle of Lennox and the cardinall had fallen at variance and plenyied that the earle of Lennox had not vsed the king of France command, and speciallie in the dispositioun of the money quhilk was send in Scotland be the king of France, with mony other leisingis he shew to the king of France on this noblman, quhilkis was givin him in commissioun be the cardinall, to put the said earle out of the king of France conceitt, and to caus him tyne his love and benevolence in tymes cuming. To this effect the king of France gart call his counsall, to sie quhat was best to be done in thir affaires; for the king of France knew weill that the king of Ingland

was cum in France with his armie, and had no will to spair men to pas in Scotland. Yitt the counsall concludit that he sould send some notable man quhom to he would give credit to try the matter: and to sie quhat was the occasioun the earle of Lennox banischment, and if it was true the plaint and narratioun quhilk the cardinall had sent to him. And to this effect the king caused send ane wyse captane in Scotland, called Monseour Lorge, and with him ane hundreth men of armes, to try quhat fault the earle of Lennox had maid to the queine, and the cardinall, quhairthrow he was banisch-ed of the realme; with ane commissioun to the governour to raise the haill bodie of Scotland, and pas in England, as Monseour Lorge would devyse, to draw the Inglismen out of France.

This captane cam in Scotland the nynt day of Julij anno forsaid, and presented himself befor the governour and the queine, shewing thame his desir and commissioun from the king of France, quhilk was to raise ane armie in Scotland, and pas in Ingland to draw the Englishmen out of France. Off this desir the queine was verrie glaid and, and solisted the governour and lordis thairto, quho haistilie consented to the same, and to that effect, gart mak proclamatiounes through all Scotland, that all manner of men betuixt sixtie and six-

teine, both spirituall and temporall, both in burgh and land, to compeir att Hadingtoun, with ane monethis victuallis, to pas with the governour. So the haille bodie of the realme assemblit at Hadingtoun to the number of fourtie thousand men. Thairefter, the governour, with the Frenchmen, togidder with the armie, passed forwardis, and passed to Barganey hauch, fornent Wark, and lay thair the space of aught days, and everie day went in Ingland fyve or six myllis, and brunt the cornes that was vpoun the ground, and all other hirschip that lay in thair gaitt: and everie night retired back to thair camp againe. Bot the Frenchmen and the lord Home would have had the governour passand over the Tweid to Wark with thair host, and to have seidged the same. Bot the governor and his counsall would not consent heirto, becaus he wanted great artaillie and vther necessar thingis requisit for ane seidge, so they returned home again to Edinburgh, the twelff day of August, anno forsaid. Bot Monseour Lorge, the French captane, past to Stirling to the qucine, and thair remained ane certane space with hir, and left some of his companie in Edinburgh, and some in Sanct Andros, quhill the dead of the wister was passed over.

Bot at this time Monseour Lorge, the French

captane, and the cardinall being both in Stirling, fell in reasoning befor the queine anent the earle of Lennox, asking the caus of his banischment. The cardinall alledgit, that he had failled to the queines grace, and to him in dispositioun of the money quhilk the king of France had sent to him, and gave it quhair he pleased. Bot Monseour Lorge was vtherwayes informed be thame that knew the earle of Lennox pairt; and also he favoured him selff, becaus they war companiones in the court of France; thairfoir he spok the more sharplie in the caus, and inquyred of the cardinall, quby he keipit not his promise to the earle of Lennox quhen he sent to France for him, desiring him to cum in Scotland and he sould mak him governour of Scotland, and husband to the queines grace, and in this manner caused him to leive France and his honest living thair, and cum in Scotland for this effect; and when he cam he was but mocked and scorned, and no promise keipt vnto him maid be the queine nor cardinall. Bot the cardinall answeired in ane furie, and said to Monseour Lorge, that he lied: and immediate lie Monseour Lorge took vp his hand and hatt the cardinall ane sicker blow befor the queine, and if thei had not beine betuixt thame the

sooner, he had sticked the cardinall : bot he was hurled to the doore, and sundred at that tyme. Bot Monseour Lorge said in presence of the queine, he was bot ane fals whorsone preist, and had caused the king of France spend his money in vaine, and had put the earle of Lennox out of the king of France conceit be his fals declaratiounes. The queine being discontent of this altercatioun, desired the cardinall to pas home for a quhyll, till shoe sould pacifie all thingis at his pleasour. Bot Monseour Lorge would nevir consent to cum in the toun or pallace quhair the cardinall was ; notwithstanding, some of his men war weill intertained in Sanct Androis, and propyned all be him with horss, halkis, and houndis, etc. and remained thair in Sanct Androis with the cardinall meikle of the winter seasoun quhill the spring tyme ; and syne, thair Mr, Monseour Lorge, and they passed home againe to France.

In this meantyme, the cardinall perceaved himselff not to be so weill favoured with the queine nor the governour, for he saw and perceaved the earle of Angus throw his manheid and guid governance to exceid him fare in credit and favoures with the queine and governour. Thairfoir, the cardinall sett his intent to gett the governour subject to his

counsall and opinione, and for that effect he gatt the governoures eldest sone in keiping in the castle of Sanct Andros, togidder with my lord Ruthven's sone, and sundrie vtheris gentlmenis sones, as pledges that the governour sould remaine at the cardinallis pleasour in all thingis concerning the affaires of the realme. Fardder, he desired the governour to pas with him to Sanct Andros to his Yuill, thinkand thair to perswad him at length to his effect: Quhairto the governour consented, and cam to the cardinall to Sanct Andros to his Yuill, quhair he was weill receaved be him, and gorgeously intertained be the space of twentie dayes, and then he and the cardinall returned both to Edinburgh.

In this meantyme, thair was ane provinciall counsall holdin be the cardinall, bishopsis, and the rest of the clergie, at Edinburgh, the tuentie sex day of January 1546 yeires, in the Black Freires, quhair they consulted vpoun all thingis concerning the libertie of the kirk and faultis to be corrected.

In this meantyme, thair was one given vp and delaitted, called Mr George Wishart, who was ane preacher of Christis evangell, at quhom the bishopsis and preistis had great invy, concluding that they would persue him to death if thei might apprehend him in ony

place. Att the last word cam to the cardinall, that Mr George Wishart was within six mylles of the toun, in ane gentlemanis hous, called Ormestoun : and to this effect, the cardinall past haistilie to the governour, desiring him to send his servandis to Ormestoun to tak the said Maister George, that he might be persued as ane heretick. The governour was verrie loath heirto, bot at last, be persuasioun of the cardinall, he sent his servantis to tak the said Mr George Wishart. Bot the laird of Ormestoun would in no wayes delyver him, think-and, be ane meane or other, to have gottin him transported, and send him frie away from him. Bot the governour and cardinall adverteised heirof, they lap on horse about midnight, and cam to Ormestoun, and lap about the hous, desiring Mr George to be delyvered. Bot they could not gett him till the earle of Bothwell cam, and wes caution vpon his faith and honour that he sould keip him skaithless at that tyme from any man. So he was delyvered to the earle of Bothwell, trusting that he sould saiff him ffrom the cardinall and priestis malice, quhilk they buir to him for preaching of the gospell. Nevirtheles, this facile earle was flattred and intysed be the cardinall to delyver Mr George Wishart in his handis. Bot fra that tyme forth, the

earle of Bothwall threave nevir weill, nor none of his affaires prospered with him.

Efter this, the governour and cardinall passed to Sanct Androis, with this Mr George Wischart, and thair pat him in prisone in the Sea Tour, quhair he remained aught weikis, etc.

In the moneth of March thairefter, thair was ane conventioun of the queine, governour, and cardinall, with the rest of the haill lordis holden at St Johnstoun, the 26 day of Februar, anno forsaid. Thair the governour and cardinall, with the earle of Ardgyl, justice-generall of Scotland, condemned to death, and gart hang four honest men, for eating of ane gous in lentreon. Lykwayes they caused droun ane young woman becausshoe would not pray to our ladie, and other sanctis in the tyme of hir birth, etc. Thir dooms and condemnatorie sentences war givin out be the earle of Ardgyle sittand in judgment, in propper persone, be the instigatione of the cardinall and kirkmen. Bot fra that tyme foorth, the earle of Ardgyle to his dying day was evir diseased both in bodie and spirit.

Efter this, the cardinall cam to Edinburgh to ane conventioun of the lordis, quhair he remained schort quhyll, and eschaped narrowlie with his lyff, for his death was devysed be sundrie lordis of the realme, who

could not be content with his proceeding and cruell persecutioun of the servantis of God, yift he escaped at that tyme through the great confluence of people that was with him, and speciallie the barrones of Fyfe. So the cardinall cam back over the watter to his awin castle of Sanct Andros, and thair conveyned all the bishopes, abbottis, pryores, deanes, archdeanes, monkis, chanones, frieris, preistis, and all other kirkmen at Sanct Andros, to hear and sie Mr George Wischart accused as ane heretick; and also, he sent for the governouris commissioun, and ane judge criminall to give doome on Mr George, if the clergie fand him guiltie. This message cam to the governour as I have shovin; bot on of the governouris servantis [Sir David Hamiltoun of Preston,] stood up and said to his maister, "I marvell of your wisdom and conscience, that on this wayes consentis to put hand in the servantis of God, and latt murther thame for preaching Chrystis true evangill, considdering that yea have professed the samyne yourselff, and be the grace of God yea ar placed in the place of ane king of Scotland, quhilk sould move yow to caus the preaching of the gospell have ane frie passage throw all the realme, quhilk is the direct way to honour God, quho hath so honoured yow; and sieing your grace commandit and desired all

men to reid and exercise the old and new Testament, quhilk is the only dittay that is laid to Mr George Wischartis charge, quhat will the countrie say, but that yea are revolted from the religioun, quhilk if yea doe, traist not to have so guid succes in your interpryssis in tymes cuming, as yea have done in tymes by-gane, and may be an occasioun that God may rent the kingdom out of your handis, and give it to another lyk as he did to Saull, and gave the kingdome to David; bot I wold not that ye were Saull that suffered the innocent blood of Chrystis servandis to be shed."

The governour hearing of thir wordis, he was perswadit to wrytt to the cardinall, to continew* the accusatioun of Mr George Wischart, quhyll he and he spok togidder, and if he wold not, his awin blood be upon his awin head, for he would not consent that that man sould suffer persecutioun at that tyme. Notwithstanding of this wrytting, the cardinall was so inflamed againes Mr George Wishart, be the counsall of the bischopis, that he haistilie persecuted him as efter followis; that is to say, he broucht him out of the castle to the abbey-kirk, to be examined and accused of sick articles as they had to lay to his charge. But first,

* Delay.

Deane Johne Windrahame, doctour of theologie maid the sermon that day. His text was out of the thretteine chapter of St Mathew, quhilk was ane convenient pairt of scripture to perswad the servandis of God, and speciallie the professoures of his word, to remove all malice and rancour of heartis that they had towardis that innocent man, quho was to be accused; desiring thame to follow Chryst, in love and charitie towardis thair brethreine. Bot all this awailed not, for thair cruell haitis could not be asswadged of thair great ire and malice towardis that innocent man, bot cruellie condemned him to the death. His accusaris war maister Johne Lather, and Mr Andro Oliphant, as eftir followis.

When the sermon was done, this deane Johne Windrahame cam down out of the pulpitt; then they caused Mr George Wishart ascend thairin, and heard his accusatioun laid in againes him be his accusaris, as said is, who began to him in this manner, with dispytfull and blasphemous wordis, as yea sall heir heirefter in his accusatioun; quhilk accusatioun conteaneth the wordis efter following, quhilkis war pronounced befor the cardinall, the haille bishopis, abbottis, pryouris, etc. as all other small preistis, as gray and blak freires, channones, monkis, and all vther of the shavin sort.

The accusatioun of Master George Wischart, gentleman, quho suffered martyrdome for the faith in Chryst Jesus, att Sanct Andros, the first day of Marche, anno forsaid, with the articles quhairof he was accused, as efter followis at mair lenth is declared :

With maist tender affectioun and vnfained heart, considler gentle reader the vncharitable manner of the accusatioun of Maister George Wischart, maid be the bloodie enemies of Chryst. Note also the articles quhairof he was accused, and by ordour disgested, and his meik answeiris so far as he had leive and leasour to speak. Finallie, possessed with ane dissembling spirit, tirranicall furie, and infernall credulitie, of the malignant church, in oppõning againes the saidis articles ; and be the contrair the most humble, patient, and pleasant answeiris of Mr George, maid to thame, suddenlie without fear, not having respect to thair glorious minassing and bosteous threatenings, bot charitable and without all stope of tongue answeired, not moveing his countenance, nor changeing, as in his accusatioune heirefter manifestlie sall appear, be the said Mr George being in captivitie in the castle of Sanct Andros. The deane of the said toun was sent for by commandement of the cardi-

nall, and his wicked counsall, and thairto summondit Mr George that he sould compeir befor the judge, and thair to give an accompt of his seditious and hereticall doctrine. To quhom maister George answered, Quhat neidis hes my lord cardinall to summond me to answer for doctrine opinlie befor him be quhom I am bound in yrones, so that he may caus me compeir when he pleassis; for I am readie to give an accompt of my doctrine to manifest yourselffis quhat men yea ar. It is weill done that yea keip your old ceremonies and constitutiones maid be men.

Vpoun the morne my lord cardinall caused his servandis to address thamselffis in thair most warlick array, with jack, spear, and splent, seimeing rather for warre, nor for the true preaching of the word of God. When these warlick championes war marching in warlick ordour, and had convoyed the bischopes to the abbey church, incontinent they sent for maister George Wischart, who was convoyed to the church be the captane of the castle, lyk to ane lamb goeing to be sacrificed, and when he entred in at the kirk doore, thair was ane poor man lying with infirmities, asking almes of him for Godis saik, to quhom he flang his purs. And when he cam befor the cardinall, by and by, the subpryor of the abbey, called

Mr John Windrame, quhom I shew yow be-
foir maid the sermon, taking his text out of
the thretteine chapter of Sanct Mathew ; whois
sermon was divydit in ffour principall pairtes.
The first was ane short declaratioun of the
evangell ; the second pairt the interpretation
of the guid seid, and, becaus he called the
word of God the guid seid, heirefter the evill
seid, he declared quhat heresie was, and how
it sould be knawin, he defined in this manner.
Heresie is ane fals opinion, clearlie repugne-
ing againes the word of God. The thrird pairt
of the sermon was the caus of heresie, quhilk
he said was the ignorance of thame that had
the care of the soules of the people, to quhom
necessarilie belongeth to have the care of
menis soules, and true knowledge of the word
of God, that they may be the more able to
overcome heretickis with the sword of the spi-
rit: as sayes sanct Paull, ane bischope sould
be gentle as becomes the minister and servand
of God to be, and not to be malicious nor
givin to vyce, but to be poore and humble in
spirit, harberous to the poore, righteous, god-
lie, temperat, and to vse thamselffis in all
thingis according to the rule of Godis word,
that they may be the more able to improve
sick thingis as heretickis layes againes thame.
The fourth pairt of the sermon, how heresie

sould be knawin: "heresie" quoth he, "sould be knawin in this manner, as goldsmithis knowis the fynest gold by the imperfyte, be the tuichstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undeffylled world of God." At the last, he added, that heretickis sould be put down in this lyff, the which propositioun the gospell appeared to repugne, quhilk he intreated of, latt thame not grow vnto the harvest, the harvest is the end of the world; nevirtheles he affirmed that he sould be put down be the civill and magistrat law. And quhen he had endit his sermon, incontinent he caused Mr George to ascend to the pulpitt, thair to hear his accusatiounes and articles, and richt fornent him ane Mr Johne Lather stood up with ane long roll of maledictionunes, and forged articles of dittay, againes the said Mr George. Notwithstanding, the said Mr George stood patientlie heiring thir despytfull sayingis, not moveing his countenance thairat. Quhen this fed sow, Mr Johne Lather, had red out all his lying threateningis, his face being sweitting, and froathing at the mouth lyk ane bair, spatt at Mr George Wischart, saying, Quhat answeiris thow to this rungatt tratour theife, quhilk we have dewlie proved be sufficient witnes againes the? Mr George heiring this, fell down on his knies in the pulpit, making his prayeris to

God, and when he had maid his prayeris, he rose vpe, and answered modestlie and sweetlie in manner as followis.

Mr George, his oratioun. “Many and horrible sayingis have yea spokin vnto me, ane christian man, quhilkis ar abominable to hear. Thairfoir, I pray your discretiounes quyetlie to hear to me quhat war my sayingis, and the manner of my doctrine. This is my petitioun, my lordis: I desir to be hard for thrie caussis; the first is, throche the preaching of the word of God, his glorie is maid manifest: it is reasonable, thairfoir, for the advancement of the glorie of God, that yea hear me preaching truelie the puire word of God, without dissimulatioun. The second reasoun is, becaus your health springeth of the word of God. The thrid reasoun is, becaus your doctrine speakis so many pestilentious blasphemies, not coming by the word of God, nor by Godis inspiratioun; it is just, thairfoir, that your discretiones know quhat my wordis and doctrines ar that I have taught in this realme, that I preached not vnjustlie to the great perrill of your soullis; quhairfoir, both for the glorie of God, your awin health, and saifguard of my lyff, I besseik your discretiounes to hear me,—I sall recit my doctrine without any collour. First, Since the tyme I com in this realme, I taught no-

thing bot the ten comandementis, the twelff articles of the faith, and the prayer of the lord in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundie, I taught the epistle of Paull to the Romanes, and I sall show your discretiones faithfullie in quhat forme I taught thame, if your discretiones will give me audience." Then with hie voyce cryed the accuser, Maister Johne Lather, "Thow fals heretick and tratour, it was not lauchfull to the to teach; thow hes taine the power at thyne awin hand, without any auctoritie of the kirk: we forthink that thow hes beine ane preacher so long." Then all the whole congregatioun of the prelatis said, "If we give him leive to preach, he is so craftie and exercised in the scriptures, that he will perswad the people to his opinion." Maister George sieing thair intentis, appealed to ane indifferent and equall judge, to whom Mr Johne Lather, the accuser, answeired with ane hideous voyce, "Is not my lord cardinall second persone of Scotland, chancellour thairof, archbishope of Sanct Androis, bischope of Merapoise in France, comendatour of Aberbrothok, legatus natus, etc.: and so reciting his stylles, is not he, quod he, ane sufficient judge for the?" To quhom this humble man answeired; "Brother, I refuse not my lord cardinall, but I desir the word of God to be my

judge, and the temporall estate, and some of your lordschipis, my auditouris, becaus I am heirmy lord governouris prisoner." Quhairvpoun, the prydfull and scornefull people that stood by mocked him, saying, such man, such judge speaking seditious and reproachfull wordis againes the governour and vtheris of the nobles, meaning thame also to be heretickis. And incontinent, they wold have him givin sentence on Mr George, had not certane men counsalled the cardinall to caus reid his articles, and hear his answeiris thairvnto, that the people complaine not of his vrongous accusation and condemnatioun, quhilkis articles followis, and his answeiris thairvnto in this manner.

The first article.—Thou fals runegat traitour theife, that deceives the people, dispyssis the cursingis of the kirk, and contemnis my lord governouris authoritie, and this we knaw for suith, when thou preached in Dundie, and was chairged be my lord governour to desist, thou would not obey, bot continewed in thy preaching, and thairfoir, the bischope of Brechine cursed the, and delyvered the in the devillis hands, and gave the command that thou sould teach no more, bot nevir the les thou did continew.

Answer.—My lordis, I have red in the

actis of the apostles, that it is not lesum for the threatningis of men to leive off the preaching of the gospel ; thairfoir it is written, thow sall rather obey God nor man. I have also red in the prophet Malachi, I will blis your cursings, and curs your blissingis. If conscience had not judged me to have done evill, I sould have desisted for your cursingis, or elis for your brotherlie warningis. Bot, because I vsed no vngodlie deid, I suffered patientlie your cursingis, beleiving firmlie, that the lord will turne your cursingis into blessingis.

2. Thou fals heretick said, that a preist saying mes at the altar, was lyk ane fox wagging his taill in Julii.

Answer.—My lordis I said not so, but I said the motioun of the bodie outwardlie without the invard motioun of the heart, is not els bot as the playing of an aipe, and not the true service of God: for God is ane secret sier of menis heartis. Thairfoir, quho will truelie honour him most with sinceritie of heart worship him.

3. Thow fals heretick teaches againes the sacramentis, saying, thair be not sewin sacramentis.

Answer.—My lordis, I nevir taucht of the number of sacramentis whidder thair be sewin or ellevin, bot I profes opinie, so many as ar

institute be the word of God, without the quhilk I dare affirme nothing.

4. Thow fals heretick hes taught opinlie, that auricular confession is no sacrament, and that we sould confes ws to God onlie, and to no preist.

Answer.—My lordis, I say that auricular confessioun, sieing it hes no warrand of the scriptures, thairfoir it cannot be anesacrament; off the confessioun to be maid to God, thair ar many testimonies in scripture, as when David sayes, that I wold acknowledge my iniquitie againes myself vnto the lord, and he forgive me my trespas. Heir confessioun signifieth the secreit acknowledgment of our sines befor God. Quhen I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of confessioun; and for that, Sanct James sayes, acknowledge your selffis on to another, and so latt peace be amongs yow.

Quhen he had thus answeired, the bischopes and preistis gnashed thair teith and girmed vpoun him, saying on to another,—sie yie not quhat craft he hes to seduce us to his opinion.

5. Thow heretick said opinlie, that it was necessar to everie man to knaw and vnderstand his baptisme, and that it was contrair to

our general counsallis, and the estate of the hollie church. .

Answer.—My lordis, I beleive thair is no man so vnwyse that will mak merchandice with ane stranger, vnles he knew first the conditioun maid by the stranger, so I would we vnderstood quhat thing we promise in the name of the infant vnto God in baptisme, for this caus, I beleive yea have confirmatioun.

Then answeired Maister Blaitter, cheplane, that he had the devill within him, and the spirit of heresie ;—then answeired ane young scoller boy, it is a devillish taill to say so, for the devill cannot move a man to speak as you man does.

6. Thow heretick sayes, that the sacrament of the alter was bot ane peice of brei^{wh} baikin upon the asch, and all that is thair do^{not} is bot ane superstitious rytte, againes the com^{tr} andementis of God.

Answer.—My lordis, I never taught any thing againes the scriptures concerning the sacrament of the alter, quhilk, with Godis grace, I sall manifest this day, I being thairfoir to suffer death, the lawfull vse of this sacrament is most acceptable vnto God, but the above thairof is verrie detestable vnto him ; bot quhat occasion have yea to say so of me. I sall schortlie show your lordschipis I once hap-

pened to meitt with a Jew quhen I was sailing vpoun the watter of Rhemis, and I did inqyre of him the caus of his pertinacie that he would not beleive the true Messias was come, considdering that they had seine all the prophecies to be fulfilled quhilkis was spokin of him, and be many testimonies of the scripture, I vanquished him, that the Messias was cum, quhom they call Jesus of Nazareth. The Jew answered to me, when Jesus sall cum he sall restore all thingis againe, he sall not abrogatt the law quhilk was givin to our forfatheris as yea doe, for we sie the poore perisch amonges yow, and yea ar not moved with pittie towardis thame, bot amonges ws, though we be poor, thair be no beggares. Secondlie, it is forbidden be law to forme any kynd of imagrie bot to serve on God onlie, bot your sanctuaries and kirkis ar full of idollis. Thirdlie, ane peice of breid baikin vpoun the ashe, yea abrue, and say it is your God. Heir my lordis I have rehearsed bot the saying of the Jew, which nevir approved to be trew.

Then the bishopsis shuik thair headis, and spat vpoun the earth, and would not hear fardder in the matter.

7. Thou fals heretick said, that extreame vnction was not ane sacrament.

.. Answer.—My lordis, forsuith I nevir taught

in my doctrine any thing of extreame vnctioun, whidder it was ane sacrament or not.

8. Thow fals heretick said, that hollie watter is not so guid as wesch, and siclyk thow contemnis censuring, saying that our cursingis and coniuratiounes be of no awaill.

Answer.—My lordis I nevir taught of the strenth of watter, and if coniuratioun and exorismes accordit with the word of God, I wold commend thame: bot in so far as they ar not conformable thairto, I reprove thame.

9. Thow fals heretick said, that everie ley man is ane preist, and that the Pope hes no more power nor ane vther man.

Answer.—My lordis, I remember that I have red in some places in St Johne and St Petir, quhair it is said that we be all kingis and preistis; quhairfoir I affirme any man in the true faith of Chryst Jesus hes power givin him from God, and not from the violence nor strenth of man, bot be the vertew of the word of God, quhilk word is called the power of God. I say, ane learned man, not exerceised in the word of God, nor yitt constant in his faith; quhatsoever estate he be of, I say he hes no power to bind or lous, sieing he wantis the instrument quhairby he bindis and loussis, quhilk is the word of God.

Efter he had said thir wordis, all the bi-

schopis leuch at him. Then he said to thame, My lordis, albeit yea mock and scorne, these wordis ar weightie, and not worthie of scorne, for they stand me to my lyff, to the glorie of God and honour of his name.

In the meane tyme many godlie men beholding thair wodnes, and crueltie of the bischopis, and the invincible patience of Mr George, did heavilie lament.

10. Thow fals heretick said, that a man hes no frie will, bot is lyk to the stoickis, which say, it is not in ane manes will to doe any thing, bot that all concupiscence and desires come of God, quhatsoever it be.

Answer.—My lordis, truellie I said not so; bot I say, so many as beleive firmlie in Chryst, suirlie vnto thame is givin libertie conforme to the saying of St Johne; if the sone makes yow frie, than verrilie yea sall be frie. In the contrair, als many as beleive not in Chryst, they ar bund servantis to sine. He that sinneth is bound to sine.

11. Thow fals heretick said, that it was als lawfull to eat flesch on Fryday as on Sunday.

Answer.—Pleas your lordschipsis, I have red in the epistle of St Paull, that who ar cleane all thingis ar cleane to thame; and be the contrair, to the vncleane men thair be nothing cleane. A faithfull man, cleane and holy,

sanctified be the word, who is creatur to him, I say is no creatur vncleane.

Then said all the bischopes, with thair complices, quhat neidis vs any witnes againes him? Hath he not opinlie spokin blasphemie?

12. Thow fals heretick said, that we sould not pray to sanctis, bot to God onlie.

Answeir.—My lordis, said he, thair is tua thingis to be notted, the on is certane, the other is vncertane: certane it is that we sould worschip on God, and serve him according to the first comandement; bot as for honoring of sanctis, we have no true suire warrand. Thairfoir I will exhort all men to tak thame to the suir way, and to leive the vnsuire way, and to follow our mediatour, Chryst, quhilk is the richt way to enter into heavinlie inheritance, and who soevir seikis another to enter in bot be him, he climbis lyk ane theife; and this the manner of my doctrine, quhilk your lordschipis sall witnes; if yea pleas to hear me, for, by the warrand of the word of God, I tuik nevir on me, nor durst I be bold to teach any thing.

13. Thow, heretick, hes preached plainlie that thair is no purgatorie, and that it is ane vaine thing to say that a man, efter this lyff, salbe punished in purgatorie.

Answeir.—My lordis, I have oftintymes said,

bot without the warrand of the Scriptures I dare affirme nothing : I have oftintymes red the Scriptures, and sick ane word as purgatorie fand I nevir, nor na word applyable thairto ; quhairfoir I wold have beine ashamed to teach the thing quhilk I nevir fand in the Scripture. Then said he to Mr Johne Lawther, the accuser, If thow hes any testament of Scripture to prove any such place as purgatorie, show it furth befoir this auditour. Bot this man held him dumb as ane stirk.

14. Thow fals heretick hes taught opinlie againes the woves of nunes, freires, monkis, and preistis, saying, whosoevir was bound to siclyk vowis, they wowed thamselffis to the estate of condemnatioun ; and that it was lawfull to preistis to marie wayffis.

Answeir.—My lordis, I have red that thair hath beine thrie kyndis of chast men : some ar geldit from thair motheris vombe, some ar geldit by men, and some have geldit thamselffis for the kingdome of heavines saik ; verilie I say thir men ar blissed be the Scripture: bot as many as have not the gift of chastitie, and have not overcum the concupiscence of the flesh, and have avowed chastitie, yea have experience, although I held my peace, to quhat manner they have avowed thamselffis.

15. Thow, runigaitt, said that thow will not obey our generall and provinciall consallis.

My lordis, quhat your generall counsall is I knaw not, nor I was nevir exercised in thame, bot gaue my laboures to the puire word of God. Reid heir your generall counsallis, or els give me ane buick quhairin they ar contained, that I may reid thame, and if they be agreeable to the word of God, I will agrie with thame.

Then the ravenous woulffis turned into woodnes, saying, quhairfoir neid we to speik any farther, and than these cruell tigers, with ane hypocritt with thame, ane seducer of the people, called Johne Gray, standing behind Mr Johne Lawtheris back, haisting him to reid the rest of the articles, saying,—we may not abynd his answeires no more, quod he, nor the Devill may abynd the signe of the croce.

16. Thow fals tratour said, that it is vanitie to build coastlie kirkis, sieing that God remained not onlie in kirkis and places maid be menis handis, nor that God cannot byd in so litle boundis as betuixt the preistis handis.

Answeir.—My lordis, sayes he, if the heavin of heavines cannot comprehend the Lord, how much les this hous that I have buildit, and Job consentis to the same sayingis, sieing he is higher nor the heavin, quhat can he

build to him : he is deiper than hell, how then sall yea knaw him : he is longer nor the earth and broader nor the sea ; so that God cannot be comprehendit in one place. Notwithstanding of all these sayings, I evir avowed that kirkis sould be buildit and maintained, that the people may assemble thairin to the true preiching of the word of God.

17. Thow, heretick, contemnis fasting, and sayes we sould not fast.

Answer.—My lordis, I find that fasting is commendit in the Scripture, thairfoir I war ane sclanderer of the Gospell if I contemned fasting ; for I have learned oft that fasting is guid for the health of the bodie ; but God knawis who fast the true fast.

18. Thow fals heretick hes preached opinlie, saying that the soull of man shall sleip to the latter day of judgment, and sall not obtaine lyffe immortall quhill that day.

Answer.—God, full of mercie and guidnes, forgive thame that say such thingis of me. I wott and knawis truelie, that he who hes the true faith in Jesus Chryst, and beleives firmlie in him, that manes soull sall nevir sleip, bot sall evir live, quhilk lyff sall nevir have ane end, bot sall lyve in immortall glorie with Jesus Chryst for evir.

Quhen the bischopes, with thair complices,

had accused this innocent man in manner for-
said, incontinent they condemned him to be
brunt as ane heretick, not having respect to
his godlie answeires, nor true reasones, nor yitt
to thair awin conscience, thinkand verrilie that
they sould doe to God guid service, conform-
able to the sayings of St Johne, they sall ex-
communicat yow, yea and the day sall cum that
he quho killeth yow sall think that he hath
done good service to God.

The prayer of Maister George Wishart. "O
immortall God, how long shalt thou suffer the
vngodlie to exercise thair furie vpoun thy ser-
vandis, quho doe furdder thy word in this
world, sieing they desir the contrair to chocke
and destroy thy true doctrine, by the quhilk
thou hes showin thyselff to the world, which
was all drouned and blinded in misknowledge
of thy hollie name. O Lord we know suirle
that thy servandis must suffer afflictioun in this
present lyff for thy saik, quhilk lyff is but ane
shadow, as thou hes showin to vs by thy prof-
feittis and apostles. But Lord we beseik the
to preserve and defend thy congregatioun,
quhom thou hes chosin befor the beginning
of the world, and give them grace to reverence
thy word."

Then they caused the commoun people to
remove, quhois desir was to hear that innocent

man speak, and the sentence pronounced, that sentence definitive, not having respect to the sentence of God. Quhen all these thingis war done, the cardinall caused the tormenteris pas againe with this innocent man, and meik lamb, to the castle, quhill the fire was prepared. Then the said Mr George was brought out of the abbey kirk to the castle againe, to the captanes chamber in the Sea Tour, quhair he remained all night at his contemplationes and prayeris, quhill on the morne the cardinall sent preistis and freiris to him, to mak his confessioun, showing to him that he behoved to suffer. Mr George answeired, that he had nothing to doe with priestis, bot if they wold send the honest and godlie man that maid the sermon yesterday to him, he wold oppin his mynd to him, and be reconcilled in any thing that his conscience moved him. This answeir cam againe to the bishopis, quho war content thairwith, and caused the subprieour to pas to him incontinent, to say his mynd. And als soone as the subprior past to him, and hard of his mynd, and knowing him to be ane innocent man, and ane true servand to God, quho was guiltles of all sick thingis they laid to his chairge, incontinentlie begouth to weip, and lament his death; and after long communing, he inquyred of Mr George if he would have

his sacrament? he answered, glaidlie if I might have it as Chryst institute. Then the subpryor past againe to the bischopis, and shew thame that he had spokin with Mr George at length, and that he had taine it vpoun his soull that he was innocent all that was laid to his chairge, and if he died that day, he sould die ane innocent befor God and the world.

The cardinal hearing of this narratioun of the subpryor, was highlie commoved at him, and answeired him saying, " Weill weill sir, we knaw yow and quhat yea ar sevin yeires since. It is not now to him to mak purgatioun." The subpryor also inquired of the bischopis if they would consent that Mr George sould have his communioun. The bischopis consulted vpoun this, and concludit that they wold give him no benefit of the kirk, becaus he was condemned as an heretick. With this answeir the subpryor past againe to Mr George, quhilk when he hard, he thanked God, patientlie beseiking God to forgive thame of thair ignorance and malice towardis him. Efter this the subpryor tuik his leive of him, being richt sorrowfull, exhorting him to be of guid comfort, and sett his hope and mercie in the Lord, for he saw no appeirance of mercie with meh. Thairfoir they exhorted

vtheris to pray each on for another, and depairted with weitt cheikis on both the sydis.

Be this the hour of noone drew neir, that the captane of the castle, and the gentlmen that war with him, went to the denner in the captanes chamber, wher maister George was, of quhom the captane inquyred, if he was disposed to cum and eatt with thame. Mr George answeired; “ With ane guid will, for I am better content to eatt with yow this day, nor evir I was in my tyme, becaus I knaw yow to be guid, godlie, and honest men, and that meatt to be my letter meatt. Bot I will exhort yow that you will sitt doun at the table and put silence in the hous ane quhyll, and give me audience, that I may mak an exhortatioun to bliss the meatt, quhilk we sall eatt as brotheris in Chryst, and thairefter I will tak my leive of yow.”

Be this the table was covered, and bread laid thairvpoun, Mr George begane his exhortatioun, quhilk declaired vnto thame Chrystis latter supper, death, and passioun, quhilk continewed the space of halfe ane hour, exhorting thame to leive malice and envy, and affix love and charitie in thair heartis, on to another, that they may be memberis in Chryst, and be thair advocatt to his father. This being done, .. Mr George tuik breid and wyne, and eat and

drank himselff, and gave it to the captane and the rest, blissing it in the name of the Father, the Sone, and of the Holy Ghost; beseiking thame to eatt and drink with him all round about, for they wold drink no more with him; for he was to tast ane bitter cup within short space, and that onlie for the preaching of the evangell, and love that he buir to God. Bot tak yea no scandle, bot pray for me, and I for yow, that our meittingis and joyes may be in heavin with our father, sieing thair is nothing on this earth bot anxiety and dollour."

Quhen maister George had endit thir sayngis, he said the grace, and thanked God, and thairefter past to his chamber; and thair continued at his contemplatiounes and prayeris, quhill the cardinall and bischopis had done with thair denneris. Thairefter thair was tuo tormenteris send to Mr George, the one having ane cote of buccrum, and the vther certane pockis of powder. And when they had put the coatt on Mr George, and the powder round about him, they brought him forth to the captanes vtter chamber, quhair he remained ane space quhill the scaffold was prepared, and than the artaillie was chairged, and laid to the wall headis, and cuscheones and greine cloathis brought vp to the wall heidis, to the cardinall and bischopis to sit vpoun; and all

the gentlemen war charged to pas to thair armour, to stand about the scaffold. In this meantyme, Mr George was talking with the captane, shewing him of sick thingis as would schortlie cum to pas: as he had vnderstood be signes and tokines, that he had seine, taking the air, not long befor at his contemplatiounes, For thair appeired vnto him in the nor-east ane gritt fir vpoun the sea, moveing in sundrie pairtes, quhill at the last it appeired to him vpoun the cittie of Sanct Andros, and lighted vpoun the castle thair of, and brak in sunder: quhilk signified to him the wraith of God, to fall vpoun the castle, and the men thair of; and not onlie vpoun that ignorant man that was lord thair of, but also vpoun the wholl toun and inhabitants thair of, quhilk sould cum schortlie, by the expectatioun of men; for he lookit southeast, and he saw ane gritt mistie and reikie cloud ryse and move forwardis till it cam abone D unpenderlaw, besyd Hadington and thair stood abone the law the space of ane quarter of ane hour, and thairefter divydit in tuo pairtes; the on pairt of it went abone Hadingtoun, and the vther pairt thair of turned in the air, and went northwast, abone the kirk of Inneresk, and thair appeiring to him as it had beine ane blood discending out of the lift. The captane inqyred quhat these thingis signified

to his judgment. He answered and said, "The reik that raise and hang abone Dunpenderlaw signified to him, that thair should cum ane counsall, and be holdin in the said law, quhilk should devyse meikle trouble to Scotland, and should caus meikle blood to be shed, and in speciall should vraik and destroy Hadintoun for evir, and many of the inhabitantis thair of, and all be occasioun of that wicked man that stopped the peice betuixt Scotland and Ingland; God forgive him that is so ignorant that wattis not quhat he does.

Be this the officeris and tormentaris war chairged to proceid all fordward. Then the trumpetteris soundit, and the officeris and tormentaris brought foorth this poore innocent man to the fire, quhilk was prepared befor the castle yett, on the wast syd, fornent the wast blokhous, quhair the bischopis might ly on the wall headis and sie this sacrifice. And when Mr George was put on the scaffold and bound to it with yron chaines, he desired licence to mak his prayeris to the Almightye God for support of his church, quhilk was in danger of ravening woolffis, quhilkis war lyk to devour the same. Notwithstanding Godis promeis was ane sicker targe to all thaim that belevies thairin, and at lenth, quhen he thought tyme, would confound the enemies thair of.

At last, when Maister George had maid ane end of his prayeris and orationes to the Almightye God, and had rendrit his spirit in his handis, than they laid the fire to him, and gave him the first blast of poudre, quhilk was verrie terrible and odious to sie, for thair cam so great ane thud of wind out of the sea, and so great ane cloud of rainé out of the heavines, that when the wind and weitt mett togidder, it had sick noyse and sound that all men war affrayed that hard or saw it. It had sick force and strenth that it blew down the stone wallis, and the men that satt thairon, to the number of tuo hundreth persones, quhilkis fell in the bischopis yaird, about the draw well thair of, and so monie of thame fell thairin, that tua of thame drowned immediatlie, and so thair was sacrifice both of fyre and watter. And than the captane of the castle exhorted Maister George Wischart to remember of God, and ask forgiveness of his sines; he answeired stoutlie, howbeit the fyre had perturbed him, and said, "Captane, God forgive yon man that lyis so glorious on yon wall head; but within few dayis he sall ly as shamfull as he lyis glorious now." With that they pulled the tow and latt him speik no more, bot boldenit the gryt fyre about him, and when he was brunt all from the waist

doun, they bad him remember on God, and mak ane signe thairof: to that tokin he lap vp ane fute of hight in the fire, quhilk was ane great rejoycing to thame that favoured Godis word. But the bishopis and preistis discharged all men to pray for him, vnder the paine of cursing, becaus they said he was ane heretick, and ought not to be prayed for.

We will latt him rest with God and Jesus Chryst, his maister, quhom he suffered martyrdom for his Gospell, and we will returne againe to the bishopis and preistis, quho became so glorious and so proud of this sacrifice, that no man might vphold head with thame. Bot all thair glorie and pryde was turned to dollour and mischeiff within ane short space, howbeit that day in on vnion againes that puire man quhilk suffered, and in speciall the cardinall and the bischope of Glasgow, wes great that day at that poore mane's martyrdom, lykas Pilat and Caiaphas wes at the death of Chryst. This martyre of God suffered on this wayes at Sanct Andros, the [first] day of [March] anno forsaicd, befor the clergie and vniversitie of Scotland, with many vtheris that saw that man suffer.

Efter this the cursed cardinall passed over to the abbey of Ardbroath, quhair he mett the earle of Crawford, and married his eldest doch-

ter vpoun the maister of Crawford, with great solemnitie. Thairefter he returned to Sanct Androis to his awin castle, quhair he gott word that the Inglish men war preparing ane great navie to cum vpoun the coast of Scotland, to cum and distroy the same, and in speciall about St Androis, Fyfe, and within that coast : quhairvnto he sett his intent to find remeid, and sent for all the gentlmen that dwelt neir the coast to have thair counsall, and in speciall the lord of Rothies, my lord Lindsay, the lairdis of Weimes, Lochlevin, Lundie, Largo, Allerdies, and the laird of St Ninianes, with all vther gentlemen that dwelt neir the coast, that he might have thair counsall quhair strenth should be maid to resist Ingland, and chairged thame to be readie at sick ane day as he appoyntit, to ryd with him and visit the said coast.

Bot in this mean tyme Normond Leslie cam to him for certane bussiness ; bot they fell shortlie in alteration of wordis, quhilkis war vncharitable amongst Christiane men. Notwithstanding, Normond Leslie depairted to his ludging that night, quhill on the morne, betuixt four and fyve houres, syne cam down to the castle with his complices, and dang the porter from the yettis, and isched all the place at his pleasour : and Petir Melvill past vp to

the east blokhous chamber, quhair the cardinall lay, and rusched at the doore. The cardinall inquiryed, quho? Then they shew thair names vnto him, and then he was affrayed, and said to thame, "Will yea slay me?" and the answeired, "No." Then he opined the doore and lett thame in; and als soone as they entered in they stickit him. Then the cry raise in the toun that the cardinall was slaine, and they rane to gett ledderis to ledder the wallis, thinkand that he had beine alive, and to have reskewed him. Bot they that war in the castle laid the cardinall over the wallis to put all men out of doubt, and the people. And when he was lying over the wall, ane called Guthrie pisched in his mouth, that the people might sie ane pairt of Mr George Wishartis prophecie fulfilled, quho said, that within few dayes he should ly als ignominious out over that wall head, as he was glorious that day of his martyrdome.

Thir novellis cam to the queine and the governour of the cardinallis slaughter, quho was verrie discontentit thairat, and highlie commoved at the deid doeris, and immediatlíe summondit thame to find souertie, and vnderly the law within the space of six dayes, or elis gang to the horne. Bot the six dayes being past, and no caution fund,

they war put the horne. So they keipit still the castle of Sanct Andros, and, furnisched it with all necessar; and all sick as suspected thamselffis guiltie of the said slauchter, past into the said castle for thair defence, to witt, the laird of Grange, Mr Hendrie Prymros, the laird of Pitmillie, the old persone George Leslie, Sir Johne Auchinlech, with many vtheris, who wer not at the slauchter, bot suspected thamselffis to be borne at evill will, thairfoir they lap in to the castle, and remained thair the space of halfe ane yeir, and would not obey the authoritie, nor yitt hear of no ap-
poyntment nor offerris which wes offered vn-
to thame be the authoritie. But still malign-
ant againes the queine and governour, think-
and thamselffis strong eneugh againes thame
both; and send thair messingeris to Ingland
to seik support, bot quhat they gott I cannot
tell. Bot this drew neir Mertimas quhill the
winter was at hand, and all men cryed out and
desired the governour to punisch sick injuries
done within the realme; and also the queine
perswadit the governour to put remeid heirto.
The governour heiring that the queine and
court war not content that he neglected the
punischment thairof, incontinent he raised
ane armie, and cam to Fyffe, to the castle of
Sanct Andros, quhilk was holdin be the for-

saidis personnes, and brought tua gritt canones with him, to witt, Cruik Mow and the Deafe Meg, and laid ane seidge to the castle, and seided it the space of thrie monethis, and could nevir mend thaimselfis, quhill at the last the pest cam in the toun so vehementlie, that the governour behoved to raise and dissolve the seidge and armie, and retire himself to Edinburgh to ane conventioun.

Bot thir men in the castle sieing the governour to have passed away and raised his seidge, they became so proud, that no man might live besyd thame, for they would isch out and ryd throche the countrie quhen they pleased, and sumtymes raise fyre and burne, and vtherwhylles ravisch vomen, and vse thair bodie as they pleased. And some godlie men in the castell, that thought not thair lyffe nor conversatioun honest, reproved thame sharplie, thairfoir, saying, if they left not aff, it could not be bot God would punisch thame for the same quhen they luiket least for it. Notwithstanding of thir admonitiounes, they continwed still in thair former doeingis the space of thrie quarteris of ane yeir thairefter.

In this meantyme, thair wes great warres on the west borderis betuixt the Inglismen and my lord Maxwell: for the Inglismen had taine manie of the strenthis that lay in my

lord Maxwellis boundis, and laid the countrie waist. To this effect, and to put remeid heirto, Hendrie, lord Maxwell, cam to Edinburgh desiring support againes the Inglismen from the queine and the governour, that he might conqueis his strenthis out of thair handis againe. Quhairfoir, the governour thought meitt to raise ane armie and pas fordwardis to the borderis to seidge the saidis houssis, and in speciall the castle of Langhope, and to that effect maid proclamatiounes to all earles, lordis, barrones, gentlmen, and freeholderis, to meitt the governour at Peibles the day appoyntitt, and pas fordward with the governour, quhilk was the twentie day of Julij, anno forsaid, with twentie dayes victualis, to pas with him quhair he pleased; so the armie conveyned at Peibles the day appoynted, and passed fordward as said is. And on the morne thairefter he cam to Meggetland: and as they war passand throw the countrie besydis Guddies Cleuche, the lordis formed ane court of justice in the queines name and the governouris, and thairefter called vpoun my lord Rothes for the slauchter of the cardinall: quho compeired personallie, and thoalled an assyse be the adwyse of the wholl nobilitie, and thair was maid frie of the cardi-

nallis slaughter, being all lordis that war vpoun his assyse.

And thairefter, the host passed fordwardis to Langhope castle, and seidged the same thrie dayes, and wan it, and brought home the captanes thairof as prisoneris to Edinburgh.

In this mean tyme, word cam to the governour, that the French armie was vpoun the sea neir by St Cobis head, to wit, six galleyis and two gritt ships, as they beleived war making for Sanct Andros. The governour was glad of thir tidingis, and haisted him to Sanct Androis with monie of the gentlmen of Fyfe, Angus, and Stratherne with him, and thair received the French captane, called the pryor of Cap, quho was directed in Scotland be the king of France to seidge the castle of St Andros, and win it, and to bring the holderis thairof to his presence, quhilk was done haistilie, as yea sall heir. For they cam so suddenlie vpoun the castle, that they quho war without might not gett in, nor they quho war within might not gett out: the Frenchmen lap so haistilie about the said castle and trenched it round about, so that they war haistilie inclosed; syne maned artaillie on the colledge steiple, and also vpoun the wallis of the abbey kirk: and condemned all the close and wall headis that war within the castle: that no man

that was within the castle durst move throw the close, nor pas to the wall headis. Then the French captane said to the governour, "They have beine vnexpert men of warre that hes seidgit the castle, that would not lay artaillie to all the steiple headis and high pairtis, quhilkis would evir have condemned the castle; and I marvell, that they quho ar within the samyne hes latten the steiple headis stand, quhilk at all tymes have put thame down from shotting and defending of thamselffis, thairfoir, will God, your lordschip sall sie the morne, or six hours at night, I sall mak your lordschip ane easie passage throw the castle, and mak thame to obey you quho are within the samyne." Then the captane laid to the gritt batterie to witt, the tuo gritt Scottis cannone, quhairof we spak befor, and six French cannone. Thir captanes devysed verrie craftilie, that the cannone should pas down the gaitt thame alones with windessis to saiff men from slaughter. But thair happened ane Italiane to be in the castle for the tyme, quho was sent to thame out of England for thair support, and was thair devyser: bot when the cannone war cuming down the gaitt thame allone, he said to the captanes and men of warre, Defend your selffis maisteris, for now yea deall with men of warre, quho ar verrie

skilfull and subtill, for they lay to their can-
nones bot sight of men with thame. At thir
sayngis, the captanes and men of warre took
great cair, and said they should keip thair
castle for Scotland, England, and France, all
thrie. Bot they war beguyled; for withiñ six
houres after the batterie was laid to the castle,
and blaidit pairtlie be the cannones that cam
doun the gaitt thame allone, and pairtlie with
the cannones that war stelled vpoun the steiple
headis; then the captane of the castle grew
affrayed, and went to counsall to sie if they
should give it over frielie, or defend it to the
vttermost: bot at last they concludit, that they
would give it over to the French captane, and
put thamselffis in the king of France will,
as they did. Then the Frenchmen entred
the castle and spoylled verrie rigorouslie,
quhair they gott both gold, silver, cloathing,
bedding, meitt and drink, with all veapones,
artaillie, and victuallis, and all vther plenisch-
ing perteaining to the said castle, and left no-
thing behind thame that they might gett car-
ried away in thair gallies: and tuik all the
captanes and keiperis of the said castle as
prisoneris, and had thame away to the king
of France. Syne the governour and counsall
concludit, that they would ding doun the said
castle to the ground, that it should not be

haldin againe as ane strength: quhilk was done haistilie at command of the counsall. This castle was wone in the moneth of August 1547 yeires.

In this meantyme cam word to the governour, queine, and counsall, that the Inglish armie was preparand fast to cum in Scotland with all haist they might, for to seik thair conditioun and promise of marriage of the young queines grace be the governour and counsall, quho had promised the same, and given the great seall of Scotland thairupoun. Off thir novellis, the governor, queine, and counsall, was not content. Nottheles, they caused mak proclamatiounes through all Scotland, Illes, Orkney and Zetland, etc.: to all maner of men betuixt sixtie and sixteine, spirituall and temporall, the father als weill as the son, etc.: to compeir att Edinburgh in their best array, with ane monethis victuallis, to pas with the governour for defence of the realme againes the Inglismen, quho war coming to pursue the same. So the wholl armie of Scotland gathered, and compeired att Edinburgh the day ap-
poynted, vpoun the wast syd of Esk, abone Musselburgh, and thair gave thair musteris to my lord governour, quho war accompted and numbred, to the number of fourtie thousand fighting men. The earle of Angus was leader

and chiftane to this vangaird and armie, and had ten thousand mounted on horsback with him. The earle of Huntlie was in the reir-gaird with vther ten thousand men : and the governour himself in the great stail with twentie thousand men : and this was thair ordour as I have showin yow. Notwithstanding of this, the Inglish armie had beine four nightis in Scotland, and was camped abone Preston, vnder Tranent, and in the meantyme, quhen they saw and perceaved the Scottismen so great ane armie, and so weill ordoured, they war greatlie effeired, and lipned for nothing bot for sharp battell. Yitt they send thair ambassadouris with verrie courteous and humane letteris to the governour, queine, and counsall, desiring thame to keip thair conditioun and promise quhilk they had maid to thair king Harie concerning the peace and marriage quhilk they maid : and if they war not content thairwith, that is, that the contract of peace and marriage should stand, yitt, that they should latt thair young queine remaine in Scotland in thair awin realme, vnder the government of her awin lordis, and not to deliver hir to no forrane natioun in hope of marriage, nor yitt to contract hir with France, nor no vther realme quhill the space of ten yeires, that shoe might be of lawfull aige to

choose an husband to hir selff, with adwyse and counsall of her lordis and nobilitie. Or at the leist, sieing they wanted victuallis, and might gett none in Scotland with favoures, that they would suffer thame to pas home frielie without any skaith, and if they had done any harme in Scotland at that instant coming, it should be weill mendit incontinent, and the double restorred to any Scottismen that would plenyie thairvpoun.

Thir lettres comeing to the governour, and counsall, they wer resaived only be the governour himselff, his brother the bischope of St Androes, the abbot of Drumfermeling, Mr Hendrie Rig, and Archibald Beattoun. Thir fyve onlie resaued the offeris and petitiones frome the protectour of Ingland, quhilk vn-happie persones wold not let the lordes nor weill advised counsall sie it. Bot they thame-selffis, but forder advise, gaue evill answeres thairvnto, but any respect of the weilfaire of the realme, nor what wes to come thairvpoun; nather haveing the feir of God in thame, to be the occasioun of so mekle bloodshed, quhilk appearance they saw befoir thair eyne, bot being incensed with sick ane foolish fury, seing Ingland, quhose meaneing wes godlie and honest, and sick ane armie, they conjectured that they wold conqueis Scotland, and tak a-

way the young quein be force. And gart the word pas throcke the haill hoste of Scotland, baith to the nobilitie and commounes, sa maid thame all to beleive the thing whiche wes not true, for giue they hade considered and knowin the sueit offeris that England maid that day, baith be word and writt, thair had not bein so mekle bloodshed as wes that day in thair default, and had saiffed the realme from the great mischieff which happened that day, and that throw concealing thir sueit for-said offeris. Notwithstanding of all this, the Inglis army concluded that they wold not fecht nane at that tyme, giue they in ony wayes nicht eschew the Scotis army, and that for feir of conscience, they being Christiane brotheris to Scotismen, suld shed sa meikle Christiane bloode, as appeared giue they joyned: wherefoir they cludit to pas home in peace, quhill Scotland suld be better aduised to give ane guid answer; and in the meane tyme to redres all evillis, and costis done be thame, to ony Scottisman in thair comeing in the cuntrie. Thir novellis cam againe to the gouv'nour, that the Inglis armie had concluded to pas home, becaus they wanted victuallis, and might not get nane in Scotland with avouris, bot wer euill repulsit in ony thing they re-

quyred for thair owin money : yit they naither brint nor slew, nor herried the cuntrie.

Off this advertisement the governour grew verrie proud, and his wicked counsallouris puffed him to pas forward upon the Inglis armie, and wold not suffer thame to depairt in peace, albeit thay had done no Scotisman skaith in thair coming, and had promised so to do in thair depairting. Yet this unhappie privie counsall of the governouris, wald not tholl no guidwayes to be betuixt the tuo realmes, bot caused incontinent the heraldis to pas throche the armies of Scotland, charging all men to pas in ordour of battell; and this wes done be the great lordis of Scotland, wha knew nothing bot as they wer informed be the governour, his brother the bischope, the abbote, and Maister Hendrie Rig, quhilke privie counsallouris tint the nobilitie of Scotland that day, not haveing respect of God nor commonweill befor thair eyes, bot shew thame-selffis like beastlie fooles, quhilkis turned to thair deathes and destruction, and not onlie to thairis, bot to the hail nobilitie of Scotland, wha wer dewored and wanquished be thair owin misgovernance, and not be the manheid of Inglismen as we sall shew heir-
after.

. This being done, the Scottismen sett tham-

selffis in arrayed battall, conforme to the heraldis proclamatioun, to witt, the earle of Angus in the vangaird with ten thousand men in guid ordour; the earle of Huntlie in the reirgaird with twelff thousand men of the north pairtis of Scotland; the governour himselff in the stail host, and with him all the gentlemen of Lothiane, Fyfe, Angus, Stratherne, Stirlingshyre, and the wholl barrones of Scotland, to the number of twentie thousand men, and vpoun the right hand and wing the earle of Argyle, and all the wastland highland men of Scotland: and on the left hand, Macklend* and Makgregoris, with all the Illes men of Scotland, and marched forwardis ane little, quhilk was verrie awfull to the Inglish armie to behold so great ane number in so guid ordour, so that they wished effectuouslie to have beine at home for fear of thair lyves. So the earle of Angus, quho had the vangaird in guiding, was chairged to marche forward on the watter of Inneresk, quho obeyed his chairge thankfullie, and passed in arrayed battell over the said watter of Inneresk, and stood be wast the kirk thair of, and thair abod, quhill the governour and the wholl hoast came over the watter of Musselburgh, and stood abone the Fisherraw in arrayed battell,

* Or M'Leud.

readie to joyne quhen they saw tyme. The Inglismen sieing the Scottis so near approach vnto thame with so great ane number, and no guid wayes might be had, nor licence to pas home againe, they feared greattumlie. Yitt the protectour, through counsall of the earle of Warwick, commandit my lord Grey of England, quho was captane of the great horsmen, to pas fordward on my lord Angus, and give him the chairge with his bairded horssis and demilances, and sie if he could break his host, quhairof they stood in greatest fear, for thei knew the earle of Angus to be ane noble chiftane of warre; thairfoir, he desired the lord Gray to hold him off quhill the footmen war reteired and out of danger. The lord Gray at the protectouris command, cam fordward with thrie thousand demilances to break the earle of Angus. Bot when the earle of Angus perceaved him coming, he maid stoutly to rencounter him, and caused sound his trumpettis, and kest down thair speires, and joyned verrie cruellie. Bot the earle of Angus speares war longer than the Inglismenis, quhairthrow they had ane vantage of the Inglis men, and at the first chocking, they rushed down both hors and men, to the number of tua hundreth, and the rest retired

and fled back to the protectour quhair he stood, and shew him saying ; my lord it is als impossible to break the Scottis vangaird as they stand, more nor ane staine wall. Att thir sayingis, the protectour was verrie discontentit and effeired, and wished at God to have beine in Ingland saiff with his armie, and called the borderer quho was principall, and desired him to tak his gennet in his hand and gange besyd, and convoy him saiff away the best gaitt, that he might be saiffed. The earle of Warwick heiring the protectour at this poynt, that his courage was so abaitted, he said to him, “ My lord, I marvell meikle of your manheid and wisdome that yea ar groun so feible, that yea regaird not for your awin honour, nor for the king of Inglandis artaillie, bot would leive all behind you in the field, and flie lyk ane coward; I avow to God, doe yea so, I sall appaill you befoir the counsall of Ingland, that yea ar an fals tratour, and ane coward, that would tyne so many worthie foot men as ar heir, for if yea flie, and leive thame behind you, the Scottis will over ryd thame and slay thame : thairfoir, I awow to God, I sall alight heir on my foot, and tarrie heir with thame for any thing I sie yitt.”

In this meantyme the earle of Angus battell was coming fordward, and had dung doun cer-

tane of the lord Grayes great horsmen, and had left thame behind him; and the Argyle highlandmen, that war in the governoures hoast, sieing the dead horsmen that war lying behind the earle of Angus, and he passand fordward from thame, they brak array, and ran to the spoillzie. Be this the Inglis men war returne and backward, and on into the governouris battell, when he saw the highland men break cryed, "Fy, fy, treasoun." In this meantyme the maister gunner of the Scottis armie, shott ane peice at the Inglis ordinance, and slew the maister gunner of England, and cutted the quhilles and axtrie of the cannon that he was schotting. The highlandmen hearing the noyse of the artaillie, and the great clamour and stour that raise amongst thame, for it was in ane fauch eard and rid land quhair they moved for the tyme, and the stour was so great that nevir ane of thame might sie ane vther, so they yied out of ordour and begane to flie. The borrowis, sieand the highland men flie, they followed haistilie without any caus of thair enemies, for the Inglis men war from thame the space of ane quarter of ane myll and more, flieand as fast as they war, for sick ane marvell was nevir seine, as tuo kingis armies meittand so neir hand, and everie ane of thame flieand from vtheris, bot straik or injurie

done be aither of thame to ane vther. Bot when the protectour of Ingland and the earle of Warwick saw the great battell of Scotland returneand, giveand backis, they marvelled meikle quhat sould be the occasioun thairof. They judged it to be ane traine to cause thame returne, and draw thame vpoun thame becaus they saw the vther battellis standing still in ordour. Bot fra tyme they saw the Scottis-men latt thair veapones fall, and kest thair armour from thame, they thought, all was thair awin, and cryed with ane loud voyce, the Scottis ar fled, they ar all our awin. Then they soundit thair trumpettis, and cam all fordwardis togidder upon the earle of Angus battell, quho sieing thame so great ane number cuming vpoun him, he settled and returned doun to the earle of Huntlie's battell, to have had helpe of him. Bot in this meantyme thair raise sick ane shour of raine, and ane thick mist, that nevir ane of thame might sie ane vther, bot the earle of Huntlie's host beleived quhen the earle of Angus' host cam back to have had reliefe of thame, that they had beine the Inglise armie, quhairfoir they kest doun thair speares, and joyned with thame as if it had been thair enemies, so that thair was monie slaine or they might knaw vtheris, etc. In this meantyme the Inglise armie cam

vpoun thame with so great crueltie and courage, both of horsmen and footmē, and killed exceeding many without any impediment, for the Scottismen had castin away thair veapones from thame, so that they war the sooner overcome. For thair was slaine of Scottismen that unhappie day, to the number of ten thousand persones, and mony of thame lordis, barrones, gentlmen, and honest burgessis, with persones, viccaris, frieris, preistis, monkis, channones, and guid yeaman men; and many of thame war drowned and slaine in the watter of Mussilburgh, through feircnes in flieing and thair awin misgovernance, rather than be the manheid of Inglismen. Be this, when the feild was finisched, the protectour of Ingland gart sound his trumpettis, and cryed kill no more, and then the furie failled, and the battell endit. They tuik many prisoneris, quhair of sum war had in Ingland, and sum war ransomed in Scotland. Bot thair was slaine that day be the Inglismen, the lord Fleming, the maister of Erskine, the maister of Grahame, the maister of Livingstoun, the maister of Ogilvie, the maister of Buchane, with many other lordis and great barrones, quhilkis war tedious to rehearse. And thair was slaine of Inglismen that day, twelff scoir of horsmen, quhom the earle of Angus slew in the vangaird, amongst

quhom was the Lord Gray of Ingland, and his eldest sone slaine. This sorrowfull battell was strickin in the moneth of September, the aught day thair of, in the yeir of God 1547 yeires.

Sum sayes, and ascryved the caus of this vnhappie succes to be the pryd and vnhappie wilfulness of the Scottis, quho would nather keip condition nor contract, nor yitt hear of guid offeris; quhairfor God punisched thame by thair expectatioun, and pat sick fear in thair heartes, that they fled and wist not quhairfor; for thair enemies war als effeired as they. and war fleand als fast as they, bot the Inglis-men fled lyk men, and held thaimselfis togidder in ordour, quhill they saw thair tyme: bot the Scottis fled and brak ordour, and kest all thair veapones from thame, quhilk maid thame the more easie pray to thair enemies. The governour and rest of the counsall and nobilitie quho escaped out of the battell, went to Stirling to the queine, quho tuik ane great displeasour at the death of so many of the nobilitie, and true subjectis: yitt shoe buire fair with thame all that war of hir opinion, think, and thairby to gett thair consentes to send hir dochter to France, quhilk was done haistilie as yea sall heare. Bot in this meantyme the protectour of Ingland and all his armie continued in Scotland, efter the battell, and remained at

Leith, and passed everie day fyve or six mylles about the toun, seidgeand and takand prisoneris as he pleased, for thair was no men to impede him, nor to say it was evill done, and thairefter he passed home to Ingland, with great victorie, albeit his reigne lasted bot schort quhill, for oft tymes God will mak ane man a scourge to punisch iniquitie, and thairefter cast it in the fire, as yie sall heir efterwardis.

In this meantyme, and moneth anno forsaide, the queine and governour conveyined ane counsall at Stirling, and thair concludit to send away the young queine to France for fear of Ingland, albeit they neidit not. Bot yitt they send ane ambassadour to France to shew the king thair of, how it stood with thame in thair troubles, and desired support of France for revenge thair of, promiseing to send their young queine quhen they thought the tyme fitting, and fair weather that shoe might pas through the seas. Off this the counsall of France was weill content, bot they war slow and long in coming. In this meantyme the Inglismen tuik Haddingtoun, and garnished it with men and victuallis, and keipit the same thrie yeires, and laid all the countrie waist within ten mylles thairto, and also they tuik Inchkeith and Burghtie, and garnished thame with men and victuallis, and builded ane great strenth besyd

Burghtie, called Balgillow law, quhairby they cumbred the countrie, so that within six mylles round about thame thair was no land laboured but payed thame dewtie.

The queine and governour was highlie commoved of thir oppresiones done to the poore people of Luthiane, Angus, and sumtymes to Fyfe, be the landing of thair shipes, quhilk landit and lay all that yeir in Taymouth, betuixt Burghtie and Dundie, and caused the barrones and gentlmen of Fyfe to watch nightlie for saiftie of thair guidis and geir, and especiallie quhen any shipis arrived in the firth: quhill at the last it happened certane Scottismen to confidder with the Inglismen to land in Fyfe and to burne the East Ferrie, Luch-eris, and that countrie, and promised to bring thame saiffie to thair shipis againe. Bot of this paction the gentlmen of the countrie was advertaised quyettie that the Inglismen wold land and burne the countrie. Bot lord James, commendatour of Sanct Andros, George, earle of Rothus, Johnie, lord Lindsay, Andro Wood of Largo, and diverss vther gentlmen, with the proveist of Sanct Andros, and the tounship thair of, being suirlye advertaised that the Inglismen would cum to land at the East Ferrie, they concludit, and cam in the dawning of the day to stop thair landing, and

derned thamselffis till the Inglismen had landit at Pertincraig, and than they passed betuixt thame and thair shipis, quhen they had sett forth thair forray to burne, etc. : and slew all thair forrey, and the most pairt of thair stail, to the number of aught scoir of thair best men of warre and marrineris, quhom of they had great lose for guiding of thair shipis ; but fra that tyme forth they desired not to land in Fyfe.

In this meantyme the governour raised ane armie, and passed to the seidge of the castle of Burghtie, and lay at it ane quarter of ane yeir and came no speid, for it is said his captanes and gunneris deceived him, and shott not true-lie at the hous. Thairefter thei returned home but ony victorie. Quhen the Inglismen that war in the castle of Burghtie saw that the seidge was raised, they grew verrie insolent and proud, and went throw the countrie and brunt and herried as they pleased. To witt, they brunt the castle of Waster Powrie and herried it, with sundrie vther villages, and the forthe was biged on Balgillow law, and vraiked the haill countrie, quhilk was the occasioun of the burneing of Dundie, quhilk was brunt at that tyme be reasoun of the Scottismen ; and also the Inglismen did great skaith in Lothiane and Fyfe at this tyme, be the holding of Had-

ingtoun, and furnishing thair of, and also with Kinghorne, and the wholl ferries war opprest be the Inglismen that war in Inchkeith, so that the queine and governour war affrayed that they should conqueis fardder in Scotland. To that effect callit thair privie counsell, and concludit to send away hir dochter, the young queine, to France, quhilk was againes many of the nobles willis and consentis, quho knew weill quhat skaith would follow thairvpoun, that wes, if our young queine was married vpoun the king of France, thair would be cruell warres betuixt ws and Ingland; and also France would desir ws and our realme to be ane province or pertinent vnto thame, as thair awin subjectis. Notwithstanding, though sum of the nobilitie thought this, and proponed the same, it would not sink in thair eares nor heartis, quho had sick blind love to France that they could not consider the weill of thair awin realme: for some feired that they would nevir conqueis the realme out of Inglismenis handis but the support of France, quhairfoir they concludit to send away thair young queine to France, and shipped hir at the wast seas, in the moneth of Appryll 1548 yeires. Thair past with hir the lord Erskine, lord James her brother, with sundrie vtheris gentlmen and barones of the realme. In this meantyme the

French armie landit at Leith to the number of sewin thousand men; to witt, ane thousand horsmen and men of armes, and six thousand footmen. Heirot thrie thousand Duchmen and thrie thousand Frenchmen, quhilkis war all guid lyk men, and weill arrayed, and had to thair captane and leiftennent on called Monseour Dosie. Bot he did litle guid in Scotland, bot spendit the king of France' money. And thair was on called Whittenraw, captane to the Duchmen. And thir forsaid men lay still ane quhyll at Edinburgh efter thair landing, quhilk was in Maij, anno forsaid. Heirefter word cam to the governour and queine, and the Frenchmen, that the Inglish armie was coming in Scotland, to the number of fourtie thousand men, and the earle of Herford, thair guider and principall governour and leiftennent vnto thame, quho awowed befoir king Harie, his maister, that he sould ryd als fare in Scotland as Pinkie feild, for all the fear of the French armie. So the governour and his armie, togidder with the Frenchmen, cam forwardis to Mussilburgh to meitt the Inglish armie, quho war come forward to Hadingtoun to the castle of Falsyd, abone the pairt quhair the feild was strikin; and when the governour and the French armie persaved the Inglismen in sight, they soundit thair trum-

pettis and pat thair men in ordour, and gave the Frenchmen and Duchmen the vangaird, quho passed stoutlie fordwardis to meitt the Inglisemen. Bot, on the vther syd, the Inglisemen sieing the ordour of the Frenchmen and Duchmen in the vangaird, and syne sieing ane great armie of Scottisemen following thame, they reteired haistilie in guid ordour eistward to Hadingtoun. The Frenchmen and the Duchmen sieing this, they would not follow thame, because they said it was not thair vse to chase men vnles they fled in feild. But the Inglisemen had victualled Hadingtoun, and thairefter cam to show thamselffis, albeit they had no will to fight, bot passed to Aberladie heavin, and thair imbarcked certane of thair most able gentlmen to pas to Fife, and thair doe sum wassalage, and cam to the coast of Anstruther and Pittenweyme, bot they saw thame sick popilous tounes, weill garnished with men, they durst not land thair, bot cam wastward fornent St Monence, and landit thair, and thought to have past to Pittinweyme on foott, and thair thought to have taine the same, and garnished it with men and victualles, bot the countrie raise and cam to stope thame, quhilkis than war standing in arrayed battell vpoun the mure of St Monence; and brought some artaillie out of thair shipis, and shott at

the commoun people of the countrie, and fled thame so that they gave back and cam no fardder. But then lord James, commendatour of Sanct Andros, the lairdis of Weymes and Largo, with sundrie vtheris of the countrie, cam and sped thame fast quhen they saw the fyre ryssing in the countrie, and thair forgathered with the Inglismen, and skirmished thame so hotlie that they constrained tham to tak the chase to thair shipis, and slew the greatest pairt of thame in the chase, so that verrie few of thame escaped bot war aither slaine or drowned, except some prisoneris that they took that day. Thair was slaine of Inglismen and drowned that day, six hundreth and twelff persones, and ane hunder prisoneris tane. This act was done in Junij, anno for-said.

Att this tyme, the governour and Frenchmen passed to Hadingtoun with the wholl armie of Scotland, bot they did no guid thair, bot lay and waisted the king of France pouder and bulletis, for the toun was strong and weill maned, and they that persewed it war nather hardie nor sharp, bot lay ane long time in Scotland, and did no guid bot evill, for quhen they returned from Hadingtoun, and left the seidge, they cam to Edinburgh, and slew the Provost thairof, quho was captane of the castle,

for the tyme, and also his eldest sone, with sundrie bailyies and burgessis, becaus they wold have put ordour to thair misrule. Bot when the queine and governour saw that the men of warre would not be counsalled, and thair captanes did no guid in defence of the countrie, bot opprest the poore people so in ony toun quhair evir they came; they send word to France, and shew the king of France his menes behaviour, quho incontinent sent ane noble man of warre in Scotland, called Monseour Deterius, quho, als soone as he cam in Scotland, caused Monseour Dosie and the rest of the Frenchmen pas to the Inch, and wone the same, and thairefter send him and his companie home to France. And thairefter, Monseour Deterius past to the castle of Burghtie and seidgit it, and wane ^h same, and also the forth shortlie, and caused the Inglismen to rin home out of many partis of Fyffe, Angus, and Lothiane; for they that war in Hadingtoun could not be weill furnisched for slauchter of tham quho cam to furnisch the same, bot when they had furnisched it, they war so chased, taine, and slaine at thair returning, quhilk was called the Twysdayes chase, that they war constrained thairefter to burne the toun and leive the same. So Inglismen war cleane dung out of Scotland, and

this realme maid frie of all vther nationes, and that be the support of France. This nation being maid frie as I have shōwin yow, this countrie was at guid rest with all enemies, and that, pairtlie, becaus thair was sick trouble in Ingland amongst thaimselffis, they lett ws rest in peice. For at this tyme, the earle of Warwick, sitting at counsall, tuik the protectour and had him to the Tour of London, and thairefter caused head him. Not long efter, king Edward was piteouslie put to death and shott; and thairefter, the earle of Warwick was heidit be the queine, and sundrie great battellis thairefter was strikin in Ingland, stryving for the authoritie, quhilk was the caus we satt in so guid peace and rest in Scotland the space of fyve yeiris.

In this meantyme, the lord Sempill in Scotland, slew the lord Sanquhar in the governouris chamber, and no correctioun maid thairfoir, becaus, he was the bishopsis guid father; bot the plague of God left nevir the bishopsis hous thairefter, becaus they left the publict fault vnpunished, conforme to justice. Yit the governour wes weill obeyed in all thingis, quhill at the last he and his brother, the bishope, begouth to grow greidie, and held justice airis throche all Scotland, under pretext of justice, to fill thair bagis and boxes

with money ; for thair compositiones wer alike to theiff and leall men with thair lawes. They scaffed throche all Scotland, oppress- and the leall men als weill as the theiff, for thair particular commoditie : and at this tyme, ane old barroun of the countrie, called the laird of Retch, was tane be the bischope of Sanctandros in Fyffe, quhair he was for the tyme, and had to Edinburgh and head- it, and his head put vpoun the tolbooth, and his landis forfalt. And this was done be- caus he send ane missive bill in Ingland. Quhairat God moved the queines grace to be discontent with the bischopis and kirk- menis proceidingis. Thinkand that hir tyme was bot short, thairfoir shoe prevented it, and passed haistilie to France, and tuik certane of the nobilitie with hir, and thair procured at the king of France hand and hir dochteris, that shoe might have the governement of Scot- land, and be in the place of the governour thairof. The king and counsall of France consented incontinent heirto, that shoe was to be regent of Scotland, and took on him to satisfie the governour for his guidwill and title thairof, quhilk he did schortlie thairefter, and maid the governour duik of Chattellaroy, with many vther giftis of gold and silver : so that he was content to renunce over the office

to the queine. To that effect, the king of France send ane ambassadour in Scotland, called Monseour Doswell, to remaine with the queine to give hir counsall how schoe should rule the realme to the king of France, his pleasour, and hir dochteris proffit; for this ambassadour was ane man of singular guid judgment, and weill experimented in warres, and greatlie esteemed in France for the same, and when he cam in Scotland, he [re] presented the king of France awin bodie at all counsallis and conventionnes, for quhat he desired, with the adwyse of the queine and counsall, it was performed in Scotland, and admitted in France be the king and counsall thair of. This man had great credence both in France and Scotland, so that all thingis in Scotland was done be his adwyce.

Not long after this, quhen the queine was come in Scotland, thair was ane parliament proclaimed to be haldin at Edinburgh, quhair the whole nobilitie of Scotland, both spirituall and temporall, compeired the day appoynted, for ministratioun of justice, conforme to the common ordour of thair predicessouris. Bot in this meantyme, the queine gave all the lordis sic giftis, that she bewrayed the most pairt thair of to hir effect, and war content that

the governour should give over his office, and shoe to be put in his place, so the nobilitie consented heirto. So the parliament proceidit as followis: The governour, with his lordis and heraldis, raid up the gait befor him from the abbey to the tolbooth, with sword, scepter, and croun borne befor him. Bot the queine and Monseour Dosell cam vp the gaitt efterwards be thamselffis, and road in lykmaner to the tolbooth, and remained thair ane quhill till the parliament was fenced: quhairto the governour gave over his office: and the sword, scepter, and croun delyvered to the queine, quha rod down the gaitt triumphantlie, and the same borne befor her grace be the same lordis quho buire thame vp the gaitt befor the governour, and thought to signifie to the people, that shoe was thair princes and governour; and the vniquhill governour road down the gaitt amongst the rest of the lordis, to beare them company. Then the prophecie wes fulfilled, quhilk wes spokin wnto him in the tyme of the burning of Mr George Wishart, saying, "Giue he suffered the servandis of God thus wayes to be handled, and put to death for Christis ewangel quhilk ye profess yourselff, I put no doubt bot the croun and governament salbe reft from yow when ye leist wein." Efter this the queine went

to the abbey with gritt mirrienes and banquetting of her lordis, and propyning of thame quho war of hir opinion. Soone thairefter, shoe changed hir officeris of estate, and maid on Mr Ruby comptroller, quho vsed sick rigour in his office, that incontinent he was depoised.

The twentie aught of Appryll, Francis, the French kingis sone, called the Dolphinè of France, was married vpoun Marie Stewart, dochter and sole air to king James the Fyft, in the citie of Pareis, with great pomp and triumph.

Not long after this, ane parliament was holdin at Dumblane be the queine and thrie estaittes of this realme, in the moneth of December, the yeir of God 1558 yeires: in the quhilk parliament, the French ambassadour desired, in presence of the lordis and thrie estaittes of this realme, that the imperiall croun of Scotland, with the scepter and sword, should pas to France, to that effect, the Dolphine of France might be crouned thairwith, and proclaimed king of Scotland: and also desired the seallis of Scotland to be brokin, and new seallis to be maid to that effect, to joyne the armes of Scotland and France togidder, and all the money that was strikin thairefter to be of the same print; and fardder, ane act to be maid, that it sould be lesum to

all Frenchmen to cum and conqueis land with thair money in Scotland, and to mak saill vpoun the coast of Scotland at thair pleasures; taxatiounes to be vsed and tane vp be the Dolphine of France, the queine of Scotland, and in thair names. Thir desires and vtheris was proponed and desired in the same parliament be Monseour Doswell, the ambasadour, conforme to the tenour of the letteris sent be the king of France and his counsall. To this the queine and the counsall of Scotland, and the thrie estaittes consulted and concludit to the same as feible corrupted beestis, allured and flattered be the quiene, not knowing the commounweill of the countrie, nor quhat inconvenientis wer to follow heirefter of thir conclusiones, quho granted thair desires rashlie and feiblie, and maid ane act contrair the common weill of Scotland, that the croun, scepture, and sword, should pas to France to croun the Dolphine thairwith, and to be proclaimed king of Scotland, and that the seallis sould be brokin and new seallis maid; and the armes of France joyned to Scotland, and that it sould be lesum to Frenchmen to conqueis landis in Scotland with thair money, and to mak saill vpoun the coastis and seas of Scotland as they pleased.

Bot at this act the duik was not present, bot

maid his protestatioun contrair the same, and lykwayes the earle of Glencairne, and the wholl barrones of Scotland, voted contrair the same, and said the sword, scepter, and croun should not pas out of Scotland, quhill they saw succession of the queinis bodie, etc. Bot the seallis war brokin and maid new againe, and Monseour Doswell gatt the pallace of Linlithgow, with vther landis pertaining to the king : bot the croun was continewed, and yeid not out of Scotland at that tyme.

In the moneth of Appryll, anno forsaid, ane poore man was taine called Walter Milne, be Sir Hew Currie, preist to the bischop of Sanct Andros, and Sir George Strachan, when the said Walter was warmand him in ane poore wyfes hous, and was teaching hir the comandementis of God, and learning hir how shoe should instruct hir bairnes, and hir houshold, and bring thame vp in the fear of God. So thir fornamed preistis tuick him and had him to Sanct Andros to the bischope thair maister, quho incontinent conveined ane number of bischopis, abbottis, and vther kirkmen, in the abbey kirk of Sanct Andros, the tuentie day of Apryll, anno forsaid, and thair pat vp ane freir called Maltman, who maid ane sermon fare from the meaning of the scriptures, and the spirit of God. And when this poore man

hard him, he fell grufflingis on his face, and cryed with ane loud voyce, "alace ! alace ! yon freir he lies !" Then he was accused of heresie, and his accuser was ane Mr Andro Oliphant, quho said to him, " Heretick, quhy past thow about in sundrie houssis teaching and seducing the people to heresie, and learning thame charmes and inchantmentis to hold thame from Godis service ?" " Verilie, brother, I did not so, I held no man from the kirk of God, nor Godis service, bot rather allures thame to the same, with all myne hart, and shews thame the lordis prayer and the belciff, and the ten commandements, to gare thame vnderstand thair awin salvatioun." " Bot was not thow ane preist, quhy hes thou left the mese ?" " Brother, becaus I could not win my meatt be it, it was so lightlied." Then answered Mr Andro Oliphant, " Was thow not ane preist, and had the cure of Lunen besyd the Readcastle, in Angus, quhairfra thow fled, and on with the called Sir Johne Patrie, servitour to the lord of Innermeath, who was delaitt and given vp to the umquhill cardinall, our maister and vs, as heretickis and seduceris of the people ; and for that caus fled out of the countrie, and was condemned and ordained to be brunt, quhairevir, that yea might be apprehendit, so that we neid no fardder accusatioun

againes yow at this tyme?" Then Walter answeired, " True it is brother, I served the cure of Lunen, twentie yeires, and I suppose no man in that parochine will plenyie of me, bot will say I leived as ane true Christiane man, and in speciall my lord Innermeath himself, quho nevir hard me teach erroneous doctrine," Then Mr Andro Oliphant said, " Heretick, quhy hes thow left thy parochine?" He answeired, " Brother, becaus the furious cardinall persecuted me and many moe, and sought our lyves for the preaching of Godis word, and that caused me to hold myself quyet and gang about and ask my meat for Godis sak, bot yitt my heart could not suffer quhen I came in the hous quhair cursing and swearing was, and blasphematioun of the word of God, bot I wold correct the same, and shew quhat rewaird they would gett that blasphemed Godis name; and oostymes I was vseing my self in this manner, quhairfoir I was invyed and tane and brought heir." The bischopis said, " Will thow burne thy faggatt, and thy lyfe salbe saiff." Then said Walter Mylne, " That will I not, to grant myself an heretick, for I am ane poore servand of Godis, quhyllis gangand to bed without my supper, and I desir no more wealth in this world, for I hope my reward salbe in heavin, thairfoir doe with me as

yea think best, for I will abyd your judgmentis. Bot better it war to your lordschipis to give me something to my wayff and pure bairnes, quho ar lyk to tyne for fault; as for my awin pairt, I cair not for my lyfe."

Then the bischopis and preistis laid thair headis togidder, and gave sentence, and condemned this poore man to death; and sync efter keiped him tuo dayes or thrie, becaus they could not gett ane criminall judge to execut that office. Then the bischoppe sent for the proveist of Sanct Andros, who was stewart of his regaltie for the tyme, and desired him to execute that man to the death, for he had found him guiltie. The proveist answeired and said, "That will I not, my lord; I will have nothing to doe to trouble the servandis of God, nor to give judgment on thame, nor to burne thame. Bot ony vther thing perteaning to my office I will use it, and stand guid for it, according to justice, and that will I doe at your command; bot I will not mell with that innocent man, who is Godis servand, that preachis his word." Then the bischoppe answeired and said, "Proveist, yea know yea ar my judge, and stewart of my regaltie, yea ought to judge all sick as transgressis within my boundis." The proveist answered and said, "It is of trueth, and if your Lordschip pleasis,

I will tak him and give him ane fair assyse of temporall men, and perchance cleynghe him of all dittay and poynttis that yea have pat to him." The bischope answeired and said, "Why not with ane guid will? I am content that yea vse that ordour vpoun him, and mak me quyte of him any way that yea lyk best, for I have no will that he should die at this tyme." Bot some wyse men that war freindis to the proveist, shew him that the matter was perrellous to cleynghe him, for the bischopis and clergie had condemned him already, thairfoir bad him be weill adwysed quhat he did, and give the bischope fair wordis in the meantyme, bot have not adoe with that poore man, for he was innocent. The proveist hearing this, desired my lord bischop to continew the matter till the morne, that he might be adwysed heirvpoun, and so he did. Then the proveist went home to his ludging, till on the morne, tymouslie in the morning, he departed aff the toun. Then he was verrie crabled that he was frustrat in that matter, and wist not quhat to doe, and sought heir, and thair lang or he could cum to his intent, quhyll at the last, thair was on in his awin court, called Sommervail, ane crepinall of the devill, without aither faith or religion, not having the fear of God in him, tuik the office in hand, and satt

in judgment, and thair accused the poore man criminallie, and condemned him to the death, and thairefter he sought burreouris and towis to bind him; but they could gett non in all the toun of Sanct Andros, not ane inch of a tow, nather to sell nor to give, in no buith; becaus the merchandis, knowing the same, hid thame all for the love they buire to the servandis of God. So it was long or they could obtaine fire, poudre or towis. Yitt at length thay gatt all thingis neidfull, and then they biggit the fire on the north syd of the abbey-kirk, on the high land; and then they brought this poore innocent man out of prisone, and presented him to the fire; and first spoylled him of his vpmost cloathis, and than stuffed him with poudre, and pat him on the scaffold, and syne in scorning manner bad him recant. Than he answeired thame againe boldlie, with ane strong and mighty spirit, “ I marvell of your wisdom, yca wood hipocrites, that perturbes the servandis of God, and heapis on condemnation on your owin headis, causles and cruellie condemning thame to the death innocentlie, bot aither the love of God or man. As to me it makis not meikle of my death, for I am fourscoir and tuo yeires bygane, thairfoir be nature I have not long to leive; but if I be brunt at this tyme, thair sall ane hunder bet-

ter nor I ryse aff the ass of my bones, and sall scatter the proud pack of yow hypocrites, that perturbis the servandis of God, and quhilk of yow that thinkis yow best, sall not die so worthie a dead, as I die now. I traist to God that I sall be the last in Scotland that sall suffer for this cause." With that he exhorted the people to pray for him, and he for thame, and so recommendit his spirit in the handis of God, and this sacrifice for his sake: And syne they pulled the tow, and lett him fall in the fyre, and brunt him. This cruell act, quhilk was done for the true religioun in Chryst, was done at Sanct Andros, the twenty-five day of Appryll, anno forsaid.

Efter this Paull Meffane cam in Scotland, and preached at Dundie, and in sundrie gentlemenis places in Angus, and also Fyfe, to witt, in Couper, Lundy, and at Fawsyd, and in sundrie yther places, and ministrat the sacramentis of the communion in Lundie and in Couper of Fyfe, and caused the images thair of to be castin doun, and abolished the Popis religion, so far as he passed or preached for the tyme, for the quhilk caussis he and they that recept him, and especiallie the men of Dundie, war summondit befor the queine and counsall of Edinburgh, the twentie day of Julij, anno forsaid. Bot he was so assisted be temporall

men, be quhois solistatioun he was continued quhill they saw fardder in the matter :

This same yeir thair occured great warres on the borderes, betuixt Scotland and Ingland, and meikle slaughter maid on both sydis, and was called the Quarter Roadis, quhair thair was ane road maid in Ingland, quhair thair was tain the maister of Marshall, the lord Gray, the maister of Grahame, with sundrie vther gentlmen and barrones, and mony slaine of Scotland, and far moe of Ingland. In this same yeir ane taxatioun was imposit vpoun the kirk men and borrowis, of twentie four thousand pundis, to witt, sixteine thousand pundis to the kirk men, and aught thousand pundis to the borrowis. In the same yeir, the aught day of November, Marie, queine of Ingland, eldest dochter to king Harie the Aught, then vtherwayes called ane vther Jesabel, ane quho persecuted the servandis of God, depairted out of this lyfe, and Elizabeth, second dochter to the king of Ingland, was proclaimed queine of Ingland, France, and Irland, etc. In the same yeir the lord Iveres' brother desired to fight with William Kirkcadie, laird of Grange, ane singular combatt vpoun horsback with speares, and the said Williame was verrie weill content thairof, and to meitt him in ony place he pleased. The day and place appoynted was sett

att * * * * * quhair they mett, weill accompanied on both sydis, to witt, the lord Iveris brother was accompanied with the governour of Bervick, with all the souldiouris and garrison thair of, with diverss vtheris gentlmen of England. On the other syd, Williame Kirkcadie was accompanied with Monseor 'Dowell, the king of France' leiftennent, with all the souldiouris and garrisone of Heymouth, with vther gentlmen of Scotland. Quhen the tuo armies war conveyned on both sydis, and they decerned, vnder the paine of treasoun, that no man should cum near the championes be the space of ane flight shott, bot everie ane of thame sould have a man to bear his spear, and thair sould be tuo trumpetteris, and tuo lordis to be judges to sie the matter finisched. And when all thingis war put to ordour, and the championes horsed, and thair speares in thair handis, then the trumpetteris soundit, and the heraldis cryed, and the judges leitt thame goe, and they ran togidder verrie furiouslie on both sydis, bot the laird of Grange rane his adversar, the Inglisman, throw the shoulder blaid, and aff his hors, and was woundit deadlie, and in perrill of his lyff. Bot quidder he died or leived I cannot tell, bot the laird of Grange wan the victorie that day.

In this yeir begane the vproar of religioun ;

for all the gentlemen and commounes war inclyned to the hearing of Godis word preached, quhairby the bischopis and the wholl clergie of Scotland was verrie effeired, and conveyned ane provinciall assemblie att Edinburgh, in the Blakfreiris, and thairto summondit all bischopis, abbottis, pryouris, persones, viccares, freiris, and all that was of thair religioun, to sie and consult quhat was best to be done againes the vproar of the protestantis, and thair new religioun, and quhat might suppres and sett doun the same most easilie for the commoun weill and proffeit of the Pope's kirk. To that effect they maid many actis and constitutiones, and first, that no man sould have ane benefice of the kirk but preistis; secondlie, It should not be lesum to no kirk man to vse whordome, quhilk if he did, for the first fault he should pay great sowmes of money, and for the second fault he should lose his benefice. To this act opponed the bischope of Murray, who was ane great whormaister all his dayes, and committed fornicatioun and adulterie, both with maidenis and menis wayffis, saying he would not put away his whoor more nor the bischope of Sanct Andros; and that it was als lesum to him to have a whoore as he. Fardder, they maid ane act that Sir David Lindsay's buik should be abolisched and brunt. In this meane

tyme thair came ane ambassadour from the kirk, to witt, Johne Erskine of Dun, quho solicited the bishopis, for the love they had to God, that they would leive aff thair pryd and rigour that they had towardis the religioun, and the poore professouris and preacheris thair-of, and that they might be content to serve God according to his commandementis, and that they would be contentit to have the common prayeris in all parish kirkis for a quhill, quhill they saw fardder. Bot to this the bishopis would give no guid answeir, they war so glorious and so proud, thinkand they had both the queine and the king of France vpoun thair pairt, so that they cared not Chrystis evangell, but presumptuouslie kest thame to thair awin libertie and the Pope's traditiones. But it became of thame as it did of Lucifer; quhen he satt highest in the heavines he offendit against the majestie of God, he was suddenlie dejected and castin down to hell; and so becam of thir presumptuous and hipocritical bishopes, quho would not grant no libertie to the servandis of God to serve ther maister. Bot in short quhill thairefter thair durst not ane mese be said in Scotland, in publick place, nor no bishopes, frieris, preistis, channones, durst weir nuikit bannettis, nather durst they put on surplices nor coullis, nor durst not

presum to gange to ane pulpitt vnles he recantit the Pope's religioun and becam ane trew protestant. But we will leive thame and returne to our historie.

The queine sieing the vproar of religion and the evangell preached abroad, and the lordis supper ministrat according to Chrystis institution, hir majestie and the bischopis consulted togiddar, and concludit to summond Paull Mefan, Johne Willox, William Heart, and Johne Douglas, againe to compeir att Edinburgh, vpoun ane certane day, to be accused as seduceris of the people. Bot be moyane of the laird of Dun they escapit, and war not summondit at that tyme. Notwithstanding, the queine and clergie war commoved highlie be the protestantis, that they brak thair promiseis to thame, and keipit nevir a word that they spak, bot patt the preacheris of Godis word rigorouslie to the horne, and chairged sundrie barrones and gentlmen that fortified thame to waird. Bot they disobeyed, and tuik it planlie vpoun thame, and monie of the gentlmen of Fyfe conveined at St Johnestoun, and some of Stratherne, and some of Angus: to witt, of Fyffe, the Maister of Lindsay, the lairdis of Lundie, elder and younger: the lairdis of Abbottishall, Newhall, with many vther gentlmen and comones, quho past haistilie and des.

perattlie to Sanct Johnnestoun, rather to jeopard thair lyves in defence of the evangill, nor to sie thair brether put to paines, and the trve evangell abolished. Thairto, they conveined at Sanct Johnstoun 1559 yeires, in the moneth of Appryll, and thair preached the evangell of Chryst oppinlie be Johne Knox, and syne when they had dyned efter noone, passed to the kirk againe to the sermon, and efter the sermon was done, gave command to cast down the idollis of the kirk, that is to say the altares, images, and all vther vaine idollis, quhilkis was done haistilie, and thairefter, that same night, passed to the bridge of Sanct Johnstoun, and thair held ane counsall, and called vpoun the servant of God, John Knox, and caused him mak his prayeris to the almightie God that he might give thame ane true and godlie counsall, conforme to the glorie of God and his will, to sett out and defend his true kirk and the glorie thereof: and syne it was concludit amongst thame, that they should pas immediatlie to the charter hous of Sanct Johnstoun; bot the pryor thair of knew of thair comeing, and that they war purposed to the same, he brought certane of his Highland men out of his landis of Atholl, to defend his place if it war persewed. Thir men sieieng

great appeirance thair of, and that they war lyk to be put in ane strait in defence of the place, and cam to the pryour, and desired of him, thair wayffis, and thair eldest sones, to be put in thair takis induring thair lystymes, and if he wold doe that, they would defend his place, and fight and die in defence thair of, bot the pryour gave thame nothing bot ane repulsat answeir. Then they desired the pryour to fill the wyne and give thame thair fillis of the best drink to incourage thame, bot he would not grant nothing to thame bot salt salmond and thine drink, quhilk caused thame to tyne courage quhen they had most to doe. Then the Congregatioun send ane ambassadour to the pryour, desiring him to leive idolatrie, and to leive according to the written will of God. And the ambassadour that went to him was the laird of Moncrieff, quho was verrie neir of kin to the pryour, beleivand that he should dresse him at thair desires and pleasouris. Nevirtheless, he gatt nothing bot ane proud vnhonest and vngodlie answeir, saying, he would not apply to thair will and pleasour at that tyme, quhill he war fardder adwyssed. So the laird of Moncreiff returned againe to the Congregatioun, and desired thame to doe with the pryour as they pleased, for he could gett no ordour of him. So the Con-

gregation past in all haist to the Charterhous, and took the pryour, and spoylled the place, and gave the spoyll to the toun. Vpoun the morne thairefter, they kest down the hous evin to the ground. Thairefter, past to the Gray-freiris, and the Black freires, and to the freiris of Tullilum, and kest thame all down.

In this meantyme, the queine was in Stirling, and heiring of thir newis, was verrie angrie thairwith, and awowed to God, that shoe should punisch that dead; and to that effect, shoe sent to the duik and desired to speak with him to have his counsall, quho cam haistilie to hir with all his forces to sie quhat was hir will. Then the queine said to him, "I marvell of yow, my lord, yea being second persone of Scotland, and none betuixt yow and the auctoritie bot my dochter, quho hes no successioun as yett, and I bot ane voman, quho knaws not the nature nor facilitie of men in Scotland, and I beleive they stand no aw of me, becaus I am bot ane voman, and thairfoir I marvell of yow, that will not help to correct thame that so abussis the commoun weill and policie of the countrie in casting down of the saidis abbeyis and religious places, and abolisching the libertie of the holy kirk. I think it is your dewtie and your brotheris to defend the kirk als fare as yea may, that I had no-

thing to do thairwith." Be thir fair and sub-
till wordis, shoe brought the duik to hir pur-
pose, so that he with his wholl forces, kin, and
friendis cam fordwardis to Sanct Johnstoun :
bot the first night they cam no fardder nor
Arthirardour with the hoast, and thair re-
mained the space of sewin or aught dayes,
quhill artaillie cam out of Edinburch and
Stirling. In this meantyme, word cam to
St Johnstoun that the queine was coming
thair to destroy the same and the citizenis
thairof, quhilk was verrie displeasent to the
Congregatioun : and raised all that they might
be in Fyfe, Angus, Stratherne, and Mernes,
and some in Lothiane, and send ane post in-
continent to thair freind and brother, the earle
of Glencairne, desiring thame to cum in all
haist to defend Godis caus, declairing to him
quhat caice they stood in. And he lyk ane
true Christiane, inflamed with love and cha-
ritie to his brethreine, raised all that he might
be, and cam fordwardis to the number of aught
hundreth men, and spaired no travell quhill he
was within tuo mylles to Sanct Johnstoun, and
the queines men and the Frenchmen being in
Arthirardour for the tyme, and taking vp
thair armie and coming to Sanct Johnstoun,
word cam to thame that the earle of Glen-
cairne was come to Sanct Johnstoun with ane

great host both on hors and fute, to the number of tuo thousand men, viz. ane thousand horsmen, and ane thousand footmen, to assist the Congregatioun. The queine and the duik heiring thir wordis, war not content heirwith, and also effeired, knawing that the earle of Glencairne wold defend the Congregatioun, and so meikle the rather, becaus the duik and all his war in the contrair : and also thair cam word to the queine that they war thrie thousand men weill arrayed in thrie battellis, standing vpoun the Inch of St Johnstoun, and had twentie shott of guid artaillie with them : and was coming all fordwardis to meitt hir, having avowed to fight thair to death in Godis caus rather than to be punisched be Frenchmen, quho was strangeris to thame ; and in signe and token, the most pairt of thame pat six quarteris of ane tow about his neck, that if he fled, he should be hanged thairwith ; and if thei overcame thair enemies, the Frenchmen, they should hang thame thairwith. And fardder, they left the earle of Glencairne with tuo thousand men to keip the toun of St Johnstoun, to be ane releife to thame if neid war. Quhen the queine, governour, and counsall, hard thir newis, they war not content thairof, knawing that they had not men anew to doe at that time, nor to give thame

battell: thairfor, they consulted to send tuo ambassadouris to the toun to the Congregatioun, to witt, the earle of Bothwell, and the queines brother, lord James, quho desired to tak vp the matter to freindis, and the queine chosed the earle of Argyle and lord James. The Congregatioun was weill content thairwith, and chosed for thair pairt the earle of Glencairne and the laird of Dun. So thir four tuik vp the matter, and contracted, that the Congregatioun should leive the toun of St Johnstoun, wode frie, readie to ressaive the queine thairin, and als many Scottismen as shoe pleased, provyding alwayes that no Frenchman entred in the toun with hir grace, nor [cam] neir hand the same be thrie mylles, and that the queine should not molest nor trouble any inhabiter within the toun, bot re-poise hir thair tuo or thrie dayes, and than leive the toun; as shoe fand it. And to this effect everie man of the Congregatioun left the toun and past home to thair awin dwellingis; and the queine cam to St Johnstoun, and was thankfullie receaved, and weill intertained be the head men of the toun, and so was my lord duik. Bot fra the queine had remained thrie or ffour dayes, shoe brak hir promeis to the Congregatioun, ffor shoe caused the Frenchmen com to the toun, quho perturbed and

spoylled the same, and than shoe called the magistrates of the toun to vnderly the law for sick thingis as shoe had to lay to thair chairge, and thair dischairged my lord Ruthven of his proveistship, and maid the laird of Kinfawnes proveist and captane of the toun, and gave him chairge of certane bandis of men of warre, to keip the toun at hir pleasour, and banished all that war of the Congregatioun, and speciallie Patrick Murray, with his brether, and bailies of the toun. Thairefter shoe past to Stirling with hir men of warre and artaillie, and syne returned to Falkland thairefter, and thought to have come to Couper of Fyfe and Sanct Andros to have distroyed thame. But in this meantyme the earle of Argyle and lord James, sieing that the queine had not keipit hir promise to the Congregatioun, they cam both to Sanct Andros, and adjoyned thame selffist to the Congregatioun, and thairefter caused mak proclamatiounes throw all Fyfe, Angus, Stratherne, Mernes, and Buchane, and all that would cum to thair support, that war faithfull brethreine, showand to thame that the queine was purposed and in readines to cum out of Falkland to Couper and Sanct Andros to distroy thame, and the protestantis thair of. Be this meines the Congregatioun gathered fast, and cam to Craill and kest doun the ima-

ges and altares thair of, and brunt the ruid, etc. and on the morne thairefter cam to Sanct Andros, and reformed the kirkis, and kest down the altares and images, and all vther kynd of idolatrie, the bischope being in the toun in his castle: they caused Johne Knox preach opinlie. The bischope sieing this, stall out of the toun, and escaped verrie narrowlie with his lyff, and past to Falkland to the queine, and shew hir the manner how the earle of Argyle and lord James rulled the Congregatioun, and how they had distroyed all the kirkis of Sanct Andros, Craill, and the coast syd. The queine was highlie commoved at this, and shew the duik the manner thair of: and so they maid proclamatiounes throw all the countrie, chairging all manner of men to follow the queine to Couper and Sanct Andros, and commandit hir men of warre to be in reddines to pas with hir vpoun the morne to go fordward, etc. Bot the Congregatioun, heiring of this, prevented the tyme, and marched out of Sanct Andros to Couper, to the number of thrie thousand men; and the men of Dundie, Fyfe, and Mernis, mett thame, to the number of ane thousand men, and remained that night in Couper quhill on the morne that thair trumpettis blew, and they passed fordwardis out of the toun to the mure to meitt the queine, beleivand that shoe

should have come that gaitt. Bot the queine remained still in Falkland, and so my lord duik and Monseour Doswell, with hir armie, to the number of thrie thousand men, with tuo thousand Frenchmen led by Monseour Doswell, and ane thousand led be my lord duik, and also the Frenchmen had six shott of artaillie with him, quho cam peartlie fordward to Tarbat mylne, quhair they stood in hover, and tuik consultatioun quhat was best to be done. In this mean tyme Patrick Learmonth, quho was proveist of Falkland, and the laird of Dairsie, cam with ane guidlie companie of fyve hundreth horsmen to the Congregation, quhois coming gave thame glaid comfort: so that they marched fordward and pa^t thair men in arrayed battell, and stood still fornent thair enemies. The Frenchmen sieing sick number arrayed in fyve great battellis, quhair of tuo was horsmen and the rest footmen, thairfoir they send the post haistilie to Falkland to the queine, to sie quhat shoe would command thame to doe, showand the Congregation was sick ane number they might scarcelie deall with thame. The queine heiring this, sent away my lord Marschall and my lord Lindsay incontinent to treat guid wayes. Bot the earle Marshall, or he cam mid gaitt, tyred and grew seik, that he might doe no guid at that tyme.

Quhiddir he was fled or seik I cannot tell, bot he cam no fardler nor the bridge of Sheillis, bot passed home againe. Bot the lord Lindsay and the laird of Wauchtoun cam fordward to the Congregatioun, and thair hors might not beir thame, quho was then standing in Couper mure in arrayed battell, and had chosine fyve hundreth of thair best horsmen to prik and hold in the French vncome over the watter of Eden. Bot the lord Lindsay and the laird of Wauchtoun fell in reasoneing with thame, and requyred of thame gentlie quhat was thair myndis, or quhat thought they to doe; or would they wair thamselffis quho war worthie gentlmen, vpoun men of warre and souldiouris of France, meaning be the earle of Argyle, lord James, the maister of Lindsay, and vtheris, etc. Then the lordis of the Congregatioun said, "Quhat sall we doe, sieing they will not lāt ws allane, bot wreakand our brethreine, and distroyand our tounes, and such as professis the true religioun; thairfoir we ar aither determined we will fight with thame, or els lāt thame depairt the gaitt they cam, and perturb ws no more."

With this answeir passed the lord Lindsay and the laird of Wauchtoun to the vther syd of the watter, quhair the queines armie was in arrayed battell, readie to come fordward. So

the lord Lindsay past to the duik quhair he stood, saying to him, " I marvell of yow, my lord, that is so furious and will not be counsalled, that yea ar bound to distroy yourselff and all your kin and freindis; yea and your awin blood, quho will defend yow if neid beis; and that for pleasour of your enemies; consider yea not that yea ar young laird of Scotland, and yonder is your kin and freindis, quho will assist yow as said is. Quhairfoir I desir yow that yea would not, for the intysment of a woman, and the flattring of the bischopis, cum againes your awin kin and countrie men, and in speciall againes the earle of Argyle, quho is your sister sone, without consideration that thair caus and quarrell is in defence of the preaching of Christis evangill; and that yea would not, with ane certane of strangeris, put hand in your awin native blood and countrie men, quhiik, when yea have done, the Frenchmen will preas to overthrow yourselff amongst the rest; thairfoir sieing the matter standis so hard with yow, I give yow counsall rather to obey God nor man, and I doubt not bot yea sall be in favouris both with God, kirk, and the Congregation."

The duik heiring thir wordis of my lord Lindsay, was weill content to vse his counsall, quhair of the lord Lindsay was verrie glaid that

he had brought the duik to that pas, and pray-
ed him to stand still in that place, quhill he
should cum and adverteise him againe. Syne
my lord Lindsay past to Monseour Doswell,
the French ambassadour, and said to him, that
the queine had sent him and the laird of
Wauchtoun to treat guidwayes betuixt the tuo
armies, thairfoir marvelled of him that he was
so haistie to march fordward in battell, quhill
he had gottin the queines answeir; thairfoir
charged him in the queines name, that he should
marche no fardder till he had done his com-
missioun betuixt the tuo armies, according to
the queines command. Off this counsall Mon-
seour Doswell was content, and caused his men
to stand still, and march no fardder, till he and
my lord Lindsay had spokin togidder. Then
my lord Lindsay callit togidder the French
captanes, that was, Monseour Doswell, de la
Chappell, and Monseour Carolus, syne said to
thame, "I marvell of yow that ar com heir at the
king of France command, to defend the realme
of Scotland againes thair enemies of England,
and to give the queine our regent guid coun-
sall in all hir affaires, for the weill and proffitt
of his sone, quho should be king of Scot-
land, and our young queine his dochter-in law
thairof, and now in plaine battell yea ar come
againes pairt of the nobilitie of this realme,

and hes stirred vp certane of thame againes
vtheris as appeares to ws, and will caus the on
halfe to wreak the other, quhairby that they
and thair realme may be ane easie pray to
yow or ony other realme. I beleive this be
not the king of France command and will, that
yea wair his men and money to destroy the
nobilitie of Scotland, to witt, my lord Argyle,
and the queines brother, with money vther no-
blemen that is this day on yon ground, quho
is willing to serve and pleasour the king of
France, quhen he hes adoe. For this caus I
give yow my counsall in the name of God,
that yea pas no farther with your armie this
day to persue yon men. For they ar de-
terminat to doe quhat they may in defence of
the protestantis, or yea gett entres in yon
toun to destroy it with yourmen of warre, con-
sidderring that the queine is not heir in prop-
per persone, and albeit shoe war, they wold
not tholl hir to enter in yon toun, except hir
men of warre war seperat from hir, and that
shoe cam with sick ane train and court as shoe
was vont to doe, thairfoir I counsall yow that
yea mell not with yon men quhom yea sie be-
foir yow, for pleasour of any men, nor tyne
not the heartis of Scotland, becaus yea ar but
strangeris, and procure not the nobilitie of
Scotland to be the king of France enemies,

quho now ar his freindis, quhilk if yea doe, I trust yea sall have no thank of him nor his counsall; and if yea pas forward, yea knaw, haveing the vangaird, and being formost, and yok with the Congregatioun, my lord duik who is heir behind yow in your stail host, will not fail to cum on your backis as the Congregatioun will doe befor your face. It is an old saying in Scotland, "I may weill sie my friend neid; bot I will not sie him bleid:" thairfoir think yea that my lord duik will sie his sister sone, the earle of Argyle, to be murthered by yow, quho ar strangeris, befor his eyne. And besydes this, the Congregatioun ar far stronger than yea ar, as yea sie, and ar fyve for one; and knowis the countrie and the strengthis thair of, better than yea that ar strangeris; thairfor, if yea perrill and lose yourselfis in that matter, the king of France will not be content. And fardder, as I knaw be thair myndis, if yea and the Congregatioun yok, quhosoevir escap yea will not escap Monseour Doswell, for they give yow the wholl wytt that they ar persewed and quarrelled be the queine, and that for pleasoures of the bischopis: thairfoir be weill adwysed quhat yea doe in tyme, and tyne not the heartis of Scotland, and guid name that yea have win thairin, and think not that it wilbe ane troupe of Frenchmen of warre.

that will conqueis Scotland. Thairfoir vse my counsell."

Monseour Doswell heiring my lord Lindsay in this manner, was some pairt astonished, and conceaved in his mynd that it was true that my lord Lindsay had spokin vnto him. Yitt notwithstanding he moved vp to the hill, head of Tarbatt with certane of his captanes, to spy and sie if the Congregation was sick-ane number as my lord Lindsay said they wer, quben he luikit about him, and fand it to be as my lord Lindsay had spokin be his appeirance: for the Congregation had dressed thame selffis so, that they appeired many moe nor they war. Then Monseour Doswell luikit about him to the duikis hoast, quho war on his syd, and had settled a litle aback, and pairt of thame gone over the watter to the Congregation. Then he considlered and tuik suspitionn of the wordis that my lord Lindsay had spokin, and considerred thame to be of trueth, that Scottistnen would not sie thair awin defeat. Thairfoir Monseour Doswell called vpoun my lord Lindsay, and referred the wholl matter to him and my lord duik, quatevir they would command him; and for his mair suirtie gatt his hand writt, and my lord duikis both, syne passed over the watter to the Congregation, to the earle of Argyle and the lord

James, quho gave thair myndis in writt to my lord duik, and the headis and poyntis of ane contract, to be subscrivit be him and Monseor Doswell. The effect thair of, that the Frenchmen, with their artaillie should retein back to Falkland againe, and remaine all that night, and on the morne als soone as they might sie day, they should mak out of Fyfe to the Ferries, and pas into Lothiane, and come no more within the boundis of Fyfe, and that the queines grace should grant thame frie libertie of conscience to serve thair God as they pleased, and shoe to ryd up and down Fyfe with her accustomed traine, as shoe thought guid, provyding thair was no Frenchmen of warre in hir companie, and than they would serve hir as thair queine and mistres, conforme to thair dewtie. This being done, within twentie four houres efter they skailled thair armie at the queinis pleasour. This contract was desired be the Congregatioun, and had to the duik and Monseor Doswell, quho was weill content thair of, and subscrivit the same willingly, and aggreit vpoun all matteris, by the expectatioun of man, for all the countrie believed nothing bot battell, and thought that Godis mercie was mair vnto his kirk at that tyme, and steired vp guid instrumentis to pas betuixt and stop battell, and to procur peace.

So the queines armie reteired back againe that night to Falkland, and on the morne to the Ferries, and over the watter as they had promised, and the Congregatioun past that night to Coupar, quhill on the morne. Then word cam to thame, that ther brether war heavilie oppressed in Sanct Johnstoun, and that be the laird of Kinfawnes, and his men of warre, quhom the queine had made captane thairof, quho had spoylled the same, and banished monie of the inhabitantis thairof, quhilk was pitifull to sie.

In this meantyme the wholl number of the Congregatioun past to Sanct Johnstoun, and seidgit it, and pat forth the laird of Kinfawnes, and denudit him of his proveistship. So they lay about the toun thrie dayes, and shott at the toun, and slew manie of thame that war within it; bot without thair was slaine bot on man. And finallie, they gave over the toun, and my lord Ruthven maid proveist againe.

Att this tyme the earlie of Huntlie and my lord Erskin cam from the queine to the Congregatioun to stay the seidge, bot they wold not, bot wan the toun with great jeopardie, and kest down the Gray and Black Freires, and spoyled thame, and reformed the paroch kirkis thairof, and syne tarried ane day or tuo

thair, and rested thame ; and thairefter past to Lithgow, and reformed the paroch kirkes, and thairefter they passed to Edinburgh quhair the queine was. And the queine taking ane suspicion and fear of thair coming, shoe ~~past~~ to the castle of Dumbar, and hir Frenchmen with hir, and the Congregatioun remained ane long quhill in Edinburgh at thair pleasour, reforming the kirkis, and casting down the images and altares, and caused the word of God to be published and preached be Johne Knox, Johne Willox, and William Harlaw.

In this meantyme, thair cam ane cunning preacher of the word of God out of Ingland, called Christopher Guidman, quho had beine in Geneva, and was ane man of guid learning; and remained ane long quhill in the college of Sanct Andros.

In this meantyme, and in the moneth of Julij, the queine being in Dumbar, thair cam ane post to hir, showing hir, that the king of France wasevill hurt in the face with the skelbe of ane spear, being justing in the tyme of his triumphant battellis, and was aither dead thair-of, or elis would not live. Att thir tydingis, the queine was verrie sorrie, and was effeired that the Congregatioun should have dung hir out of Scotland. Thairfoir shoe sent spyes to sie quhat thei war doeing. So the spyes cam

to Edinburgh, and persaued many of thame returning home to thair awin houssis, quhairfoir they returned haistilie, and shew the same to the queine. Then shoe tuik purpose to cum out of Dumbar to Edinburgh. Bot the Congregatioun and the tounship being for-seine of hir coming, held hir out: and then shoe and hir Frenchmen past to Leith, and fortified it, and maid it verrie strong, for shoe had abundance of victuallis, and many guid men with hir, and the most pairt of the best artaillie in Scotland was in it.

Att this tyme queine Elizabeth of England being perswadit be Godis word and preaching thairof, caused reforme all the kirkis of England, and kest down all the alteris and idollis, with all vther superstitiones that queine Marie had erected in hir tyme, fra the death of king Edward.

In this meantyme, thair was hott skirmishing betuixt the Congregatioun and the Frenchmen in Leith, the tuentie day of August, anno forsaid.

In this meantyme, the earle of Arrane, the duikis eldest sone, heiring of the Congregatioun in Scotland, left the duikdome of Chattellaroy in France, and cam be land throw Flanderis to Ingland, not knawin be any man till he cam home in Scotland, his

awin countrie, he being furth of the same the space of fourteine yeires. Büt shortlie thair-
eſter, the duik his father left queine regent,
and adjoynd himſelff to the Congregatioun,
be the requeiſt of his ſone. And thaireſter,
the earle of Arrane maid concord, and ag-
gried his father and the earle of Glencairne,
and alſo the laird of Reth, and the laird of
Grange, with many other gentlemen quhom
his father had forſalt. In this meantyme, the
Congregatioun maid ane proclamatioun to all
that would adjoyne thameſſis to tak thair
part, to compeir at Edinburgh at ane certane
day. So the duik, his ſone, and the earle of
Glencairne, and the lord Ruthven, and the
maister of Lindsay, and all the gentlmen of
the Congregatioun, and borrowis, quho had
adjoynd thameſſis to thame, conveint att
Edinburgh the fyfteine day of October, and
ſeidgit Leith, and remained thair the ſpace of
ane moneth, skirmiſching the Frenchmen, bot
they could not win the tour. They ſieng that,
paſt to the caſtle of Creichtoun, and ſeidgit it,
and wan it, quhairin they gott great ſpoyll,
and brought it to the toun of Edinburgh: bot
onnowayes they could obteine Leith, it was
ſo ſtrengthed, and they had no guid men of
warre to aſſail the ſame, and they had no will
to jeopard thameſſis on French ſouldiouris:

and immediatlie they concludit, and sent to Ingland for support, and for the mair securitie, each earle and lord of the Congregation writt his awin hand writt to Ingland for support, quhilk was grantit to thame, and the day affixit that they should cum both be sea and land: and thairefter, the Congregation left the seidge of Leith, and everie man returned his awin way. Soone thairefter, the queine, my lord Bothwell, and my lord Crichtoun, with the Frenchmen, cam out of Leith, and passed againe to Edinburgh, and caused repair all the alteris and images thair, and say mes daylie in the kirkis thair of, and caused blott away the lordis prayer and the ten commandementis, quhilk wer patent on the wallis: and did great distruction to the toun, as yea sall heir. For in the moneth of September, anno forsaid, the queine and the Frenchmen past out of Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and to Stirling, and did great skaith and damage thairin, and cam down to the coast syd on fute, and maid great distruction in Kinghorne, Dysert, and Weimes, and slew all the bestiall thairabout, and hirried ane toun to the laird of Grange, and synd vndermyndit it with poudre, and blew it in the air. In the tyme of the douncasting of this toun and castell, ane Frenchman called Labattie, cam forth

with fyftie soldiouris with him to seik viveris, and cam to Dunkeir, and was spoylling the toun : but the maister of Lindsay and the laird of Craighall perceaved the Frenchmen spoylling the toun, called thair servantis togidder, and sett upoun the Frenchmen with good courage, and the French captane Labattie defendit himselff right mauffullie with ane halbert in his hand, quhill at the last, the maister of Lindsay mett with him hand for hand, and strak at other verrie long quhill at the last the maister of Lindsay strak him with ane broad sword in the forhead to the braines, and slew him, and many of his souldiouris war slaine, for quhom the queine maid great mone, and especiallie for this Labattie, for he was ane verrie manlie sharp man. Thair was also sum Scottismen hurt that day, bot none slaine. Att this, the Congregatioun gathered, and mett at Couper, and remained thair aught dayes. At this tyme the gentlmen of yfe tuik thair pairtes : to witt, Weymis, Balmutto, Balvirie, and the abbot of Dumfermling.

Wpoun the twenty four day of Januar, 1560 yeires, the English shipis came to the Firth, and the admiral of thame, called Mr Winter, landit at Aberdour, and remained still in the Firth, quhill the armie of Ingland cam also be land to thame. The Frenchmen being at this tyme in

Weymes, and thair captanes with thame, to quhom thair cam wordis that they war French shipes, quhilk caused thame for joy to lift thair campes, and rin togidder and tak consultatioun, quhidder they should pas to Couper and sett vpoun the Congregatioun, or elis to gange landwayes to the coast of Sanct Andros, and syne to Couper : for at this tyme the snow was great, they might not cum the neirest way with thair horsmen : and so past over the watter and went to Kincragie, fornent the shipis, and sua for fear left thair roastis at the fire, and retired that same night, but meatt or drink, to Dunfermling againe. But the laird of Grange slew manie of thame or they wan Dumfermling ; and the schipis cam vp the watter to Bruntisland, and shott at the castle, and slew sundrie Frenchmen that war within, and wan the castle. Item, the twentie sax day of the said moneth, the Frenchmen be-leivand to have past away, the Congregatioun cam from Stirling and cuttit the bridge of Tul-liebodie, that the Frenchmen should not pas over to mak impediment to thame ; thairfoir the Frenchmen remained all that night in Fotherik mure, without aither meat or drink, and many of thame war slaine or they could get the bridge repaired.

In this meantyme the queines brother cam

out of France to Scotland, called the duik of Guise, with aught shipis to support the queine his sister againes the protestantis, bot God send ane tempest and brak the shipis except thrie, quhairin the duik himselff was saiff, and drivin back to France againe, quhilk was the marvellous provisioun of God to saiff his servandis.

Vpoun the threttie day of Januar, anno for-said, the queine being in Leith, directed Captane Cullen to the sea, weill furnished with artaillie and men of warre, to support the French men, that war on the vther syd of the watter; bot the captane and his shipis war taine be the Inglismen, quhairat the queine tuik great displeasour, and lay aught or nyne dayes. Not long efter this, the pryour of Sanct Andros, the maister of Lindsay, and the laird of Grange, past to Waster Weymis, and tuik the laird thairof, and also the lairdis of Feild, Muthane, Balmuthie, and Balgonie, and had sum of thame to Sanct Andros, and keiped thame thair.

Vpoun the feird day of Februar, the gentilmen and borrowis of Fyfe that tuik pairt with the queine, cam to Sanct Andros and subscrivit with the Congregatioun, and then vpoun the sewint day the pryor of Sanct Andros, with the rest of the lordis and barrones of the Con

gregatioun past to Glasgow to my lord 'duik and his sone, and thair tuik eonsultatioun of thair comeing to Edinburgh, to meitt the Inglisch armie.

Vpoun the tuelf day thairof, the Inglisch shipis tuik tua French shipis coming to support the queine. Att this tyme thair cam seventeine Inglisch shipis that cam out of Bervick to thame, that was heir befor, and lay and keipit Inchkeith, that non should furnisch it. Heirefter, vpoun the seventeine of Februar, the Inglisch shipis tuik ane other French ship coming to support the queine, with horse and money, and had her away to Bervick shortlie. Schortlie thairefter, vpoun the tuentie day of the said moneth, the queine furnished ane great ship to pas to France with wryttingis, quhilk was also interrupted be the Inglismen.

In the moneth thairefter, the lord Ruthven, the pryor of Sanct Andros, the proveist thairof, and the laird of Pitterro, with fourtie gentlemen in Fyfe, shipped at Pittinweyme, in ane Inglisch ship called the Hound, and sailed to Bervick, to bring in ane armie be land of Inglismen, and to confirme the bandis maid betuixt thame and the Congregatioun of Scotland. Vpoun the first day of March, anno forsaid, the lord Ruthven with the rest past to

Berwick, and cam home againe, and brought with thame vther ten shipis, quho landit at Pittinweyme. Vpoun the tent day thair of, the earle of Huntlie, with the barrones and gentlmen of the north, cam to Sanct Joh^hystoun, and thair mett my lord Arrane, my lord Lindsay, and the pryor of Sanct Andros, with the rest of the Congregatioun being thair present, and consulted vpoun certane bussines concerning thair affaires, the space of thrie dayes, and thair they refusied the queine, and subscrivit with the lordis of the Congregatioun, and syne depairted home. Vpoun the elliventh day thair of, thair was ane conventioun at Coupar, of all the lordis and gentlmen of Fyfe, and it was concludit, that they should all pas and meitt the Inglis armie at Haddingtoun, with the rest of the Congregatioun, to seidge the toun of Leith, the queine and hir assisteris being in it; and also caused proclame lettres throw all the realme, that all manner of men sould be in Leith the tuentie day of March, with threttie dayes victuallis, vnder the paines to be reput partakeris with the Frenchmen, and enemies to the Congregatioun.

Vpoun the tuentie sewint day of March thairefter, the Frenchmen past forth to Glasgow, and remained there thrie dayes, and did great skaith thairin. In this meantyme, my

lord duik seidged the castle of Sempill, with four thousand men, and wan the same. That day the Frenchmen cam to Glasgow, to have maid support to my lord Sempill. Sua the Frenchmen war disappoyntted of thair purpose, but on no wayes wold the protestantis fight with thame, because the Inglismen war cum in Scotland for thair support. Vpoun the 28 day thair of, the wholl lordis and barrones that war on this syd of Forth, passed to Stirling, and be the way kest down the abbey of Dumfermling, and when they cam to Stirling, to have had entres, the Frenchmen that wer in the toun would not suffer the Congregation to enter thairin. Sua they cam back againe to the castle of Campbells quhill the Inglismenis incomming. The Frenchmen also sieing thair depairtur from the toun, cam out also, and cam to Leith, and vpoun the morne thairefter the lordis cam to Stirling againe, and out of that to Lithgow, and remained thair till the wholl number of the Congregation mett and conveined togidder. But or the Frenchmen wan to Leith out of Stirling, thair was slaine about thriescoir of thame. The first day of Appryll, the wholl Congregation mett the Inglish armie at Hadingtoun and Aberladye, quho war in number aught thousand men; and the same day queine regent

past to the castle of Edinburgh. Heirefter, vpoun the sext day, the Inglismen skirmished the Frenchmen att Lastelrig, and dang thame perforce to the toun of Leith, and slew sixscoir of thame. Att this tyme cam of Inglismen at sundrie tymes, with my lord Gray of Ingland, and my lord Talbott, twelff thousand men, by the shipis, wha war threttie saillis: Vpoun the thretteine day of Appryll, the toun of Leith was closed in sick forme, that no man might aither pas in or out; and the seidge was laid to it in sundrie pairtis, with tuelff cannone, by tuentie schott of small peices. Vpoun the 15 da y the Frenchmen past out of the toun to the trenchis, quhair the Inglish quhyt cloaks slew ane hunder of thame. Thair-ester, vpoun the sewinteine day thairof, the Inglish shipis cam to the peir of Leith, on the night, and the Frenchmen beleived that they would land, and the said shipis shott among thame, and slew fourtie of thame. Vpoun the 20 day, the principall blokhous within Leith, callit St Anthonies kirk, was dung down with cannone, and als the high kirk where the viveris lay, and many vther houssis upon the east syd of the toun. Vpoun the 28 day thairof, the Inglismen gave Leith ane allarum, and slew that night about fourscoir Frenchmen. Vpoun the 30 day thairof, the Inglismen

brunt the mylne within the wallis, and brought with thame the wholl guides that war within the forth. Vpoun the 3 day of Maij, the Inglismen with the Congregatioun past to the other syd of the watter of Leith, besyd Bonitoun, and trenched thair, and condemned the blokhous besyd the mylne of Leith, and also the bridge. Vpoun the 5 day of Maij, the Inglismen with the Scottismen of warre gave the toun ane assault on the night, bot the ledderis war short, and so our men war disapoyntted, and mony slaine on both sydis, be the shott of cannones, and vther peices schotting at the wallis, and so incontinent the Inglismen left the toun and send to Bervick about moe men, and ledderis, and upoun the 13 day, the men and ledderis cam out of Barvick to the camp, quho war in number fyve hundreth men. Vpoun the 21 day thair of, thair was ten shipis coming out of France to support the toun of Leith. The English shipis perseiving thame went to thame and tuik four of thame, and dang the rest againe, quhairby the Frenchmen war put by thair purpose. Vpoun the 25 day thairefter, the Frenchmen ished out of the toun of Leith, bot they war dang in againe as a befoir; and tuentie four of thame slaine. Vpoun the

28 day of Maij, ane parliament was proclaimed on the ,tent of Julij.

Heirefter, in Junij 1560 yeires, queine regent depairted this present lyfe in the castle of Edinburgh, and that becaus, as is alleadgit, hir lordis raised vp against hir grace, quhilk ingendrit to hir sick displeasour and melancholie that shoe was nevir blyth. Heirefter, the 23 day of Junij, thair cam tuo ambassadoures out of France to the Congregatioun and Inglismen for to mak concord. And in this meantyme thair was trewis taine for four dayes, betuixt the Congregatioun and the Frenchmen. Bot the Frenchmen would not give over the toun vnles they gat leive peaceablie to transport bag and baggage, bot the Congregatioun would not consent thairto. In this meantyme thair was trewis taine againe, and thrie hundreth Inglismen cam to the camp more nor was befoir. Ester this the Frenchmen isched out of the toun the 25 day of Junij, and thair collo-nell was slaine, with diverss vtheris, and so war put in againe. Bot to be revengit heirof they isched out againe, and vpoun the 6 day of Julij the Frenchmen ished out vpoun the Inglismen quho war in the trenchis, and the Scottismen and the Inglismen perceaved the same, rushed betuixt thame and the toun, and slew of thame eylevin scoir, and the toun escaped narrowlie

vntaine. Upoun the tent day of Julij thair was peace proclaimed betuixt the Scottismen, Inglismen, and Frenchmen: and vpoun the 14 day of Julij the Frenchmen shiped and past home to France, and left the toun voyd.

Efter this, vpoun the 20 day of Julij, ane parliament was holdin att Edinburgh, quhilk indured 20 dayes: quhairin was erected twentie sax lordis of the articles, for setting fordward of the religion. Item, induring the rest of this yeir was guid quyetnes and guid justice keipit. In this same yeir, quhilk was the yeir of God forsaide, the 19 day of August, our princes, the queine's grace, being aughteine yeires of aige, efter shoe had remained in France twelff yeires, and had married the king thair of; he depairted this present lyfe the six of December, anno forsaide, without successioun; hir grace cam in Scotland, and arryved at Leith with tuo galleys and four schipis, and was honorablie receaved be hir lordis and subjectis. In this meantyme the queine maid hir entres in Edinburgh as the lyk was not seine a befoir, shoe was so gorgeouslye and magnificentlie receaved; and vpoun the 17 day of December shoe past out of Edinburgh, to Lithgow, and out of that to Stirling, and syne to Sanct Johnstoun, and maid hir entres thair, and thairefter past to Dundie, and syne to Falkland, and thairefter returned a-

gaine to Edinburgh, and caused mak ane proclamatioun, that all bischopis and prelattis should be in Edinburgh the xx day of December, and sa the haill estaites conveined in Edinburgh, and talked vpoun matteris of religioun, and finallie it was concludit, that all bischopis, abottis, and deanes, should have bot ane small pairt of thair living, and the rest should be givin to the ministeris and the poore. Att this tyme the wholl kirkis conveined thaimselffis, with all thair assisteris, and my lord Bothwall was thair captane, and thought to have perswadit the queine to have proclamed the mese vp againe, bot God caused thame to be put by thair purpose, and faine to skaill aff the toun of Edinburgh, and the Congregatioun prevailed.

Wpoun the 21 day of Januar 1561 yeires, the queine past to Seatoun, and remained thair four dayes: and lord Johne, pryor of Codinghame, was married vpoun the earle of Bothwallis sister. Wpoun the tent day of Februar thairefter, the pryor of Sanct Androis, quho was called lord James, was married vpoun the earle Marshellis dochter, in the abbey of Holirudhous, and thair was nyne gentlmen of Fyfe maid knyghtis. Vpoun, the 15 day thair of, ane ambassadour cam out of Suethen to the queine's grace,

and desired licence to the king of Suethen to cum in this realme, and it was thought to have the queine in marriage: and vpoun the 28 day, the ambassadour gatt his answeir and depairted. Upoun the third day of March the queine past out of Edinburgh to Dumfermling, and syne to Dysart, and to Durie, and the sixth day of the said moneth cam to Sanct Andros, and remained thair ane space. And vpoun the 21 day of the said moneth shoe came to Coupar of Fyfe and Falkland, and syne returned to Sanct Andros.

In the yeir of God 1562 yeires, the earle of Bothuell, with vther gentlemen, cam to Falkland to the queine's pallace, and thought to have poysoned the queine; and it was aggried that they war put to the castle of Edinburgh, in prisone with Mr Gawane Hamiltoun; and als my lord Hamiltoun, wes put in presone; and it was alledged that my lord Arran in his mirrines suld opin this conspiracie, quhilk wes not of weritie. Vpoun the first day of Aprill, the queine came to Couper, and syne to St Androes. Efter this my lord Hamiltoun send ane letter to the queine, desyreing hir grace that she wald let forthe his sone, the erle of Arran, my lord Bothwell, and Mr Gawane Hamiltoun, vpoun caution, quhilk desyre wes

refuissed. The duik seing this, he came to St Androes himself, bot his trawellis wes in wane, so he depairted againe to Hamiltoun: and thairefter he wes charged be the quein to giue ower the castell of Dunbartane, quhilk wes obeyed, and the quein maid ane servand of hir awin captane thair of.

Att this tyme the congregatioun of France raise and distroyed the wholl kirkis, images, and altares of Rowand, with many other tounes, and thair captane was the prince of Condie, and war passing to Parcis to doe the lyk, bot the papistis rose, with thair captane, the duik of Guyse, againes thame: bot the victorie inclyned to the prince of Condie. In the same yeir, and in the moneth of Appryll, the king of Suethane's brother cam in Scotland to Sanct Andros, desiring marriage of our queine to the king his brother, bot he gott deferring answers. Efter this the queine past out of Sanct Andros to Lochlevin, and syne went to Edinburgh. In the same yeir the toun of Rowand was seidgit be the king of France, quho war the same to the gritt discontentment of the protestantis.

Upoun the 15 day of Maij thair cam ane ambassadour out of Suethane, being verrie weill accompanied, and gatt presens to the queine in Edinburgh, and was honorable res-

saived in the abbey of Holyrudhous; and the same day my lord Fleming was married honorablie.

In this same yeir was ane feild in Normandie, betuixt the papistis and protestantis, and great slauchter maid on both sydis, and the prince of Condie was taine.

Upoun the 20 day of Maij the laird of Ledingtoun, the queine's secrittair, past to Ingland for certane affaires concerning the queine's grace hir passing to Ingland. Upoun the last day of Maij the Suethanes ambassadour departed out of Scotland, and the queine gave him ane chaine to the valve of ane thousand crounes. The tent of Julij thairefter the congregatioun and the papistis in France mett togidder at the toun of Orleance, quhair thair was great slaughter maid on both sydis, and speciallie on the shavin sôrt, be the prince of Condie: and the wholl monkis and frieris war destroyed. Att this tyme the duik of Guyse was slaine be his awin servandis, with the shott of ane dag, treasonablie, bot his slayer was shortlie takin, and quartered and drawin for the same.

Att this tyme the queine of Scotland and the queine of Ingland should have mett togidder at York, and the nobilitie wairned thairof departed the 24 day of Julij; bot occasioun

stayed thame, for the queine of Ingland had send ten thousand men to the Newheavin for support of the congregatioun of France, and the earle of Warwick leiftennant to thame. In this meantyme the queine tuik hir journey to the Northland, the thretteine day of August, and cam to Aberdeine. In this meantyme the earle of Bothwall brak his waïrd, and cam out at ane window, be ane tow, of the castle of Edinburgh. Wpoun the 20 day of September the queine maid proclamatiounes in the Northland, that all men should be at hir in feir of weir at Aberdein: and this was becaus the earle of Huntlie's sone, laird of Findlater, brak his waïrd in Aberdene, and held all the castles that perteaned to his fater and himself, and would not render thame. About this tyme the earle of Huntlie raised ane armie of his freindis, to the number of ane thousand men, and lord Robert, the queine's brother, was send to Dundie and Edinburgh: and not long efter the queine sent fyve hundreth horsmen to France for support of the congregatioun thair. And the 20 day of September the castell of Innernes was won, and the captane thair of, called Gordoun, hanged. Att this tyme Johne Gordoun, laird of Findlater, tuik certane men of warre in the toun of Bamff, of the queine's, and tuik thair weapones from thame. Att this

tyme the earle of Huntlie and he war chairg-
ed to compeir befoir hir grace in Aberdeine,
bot they would not obey, quhairfoir they war
put to the horne. The earle of Huntlie sieing
this, cam fordwardis with his assisteris, the 20
day of October, to Bamff, and thought to have
cum to Aberdeine and taine the queine ; my
lord Murray and my lord Lindsay being in
the toun for the tyme. Vpoun the 25 day of
October they past to the seildis, and left the
queine in Aberdeine : and at ane place called
the Bank of Four, otherwayes Coreychie, they
• mett the earle of Huntlie and his companie,
and chairged him with battell, quhair great
slaughter was maid on both sydes. The earle
was slaine, and his sones taine, and monie of
his kin and freindis taine and brought to Aber-
deine. Thair was slaine at this tyme, to the
earle of Huntlie, tuo hundreth : and six scoir
to the queine, or thairby. Alwayes the victo-
rie inclyned to the queine, and hir lordis re-
turned that night to Aberdeine with great joy,
and the dead bodie of the earle of Huntlie was
brought with thame, and laid in the tolbooth
of Aberdeine, that men might sie it. And
vpoun the 30 day of October thair was fyve
gentlemen of the Gordounes hanged, and the
second day of November the laird of Findlater
was headit at Aberdeine. This being done,

my lord Hamiltoun was charged to keip my lord Gordoun, his guidson, suir. Thairefter the lord Hamiltoun raid to St Johnstoun, and spak for him, and gat no answer that pleased him. Vpoun the feird day of November the queine cam out of Aberdeine to Dunnottar, and out of that to Bonnytoun, Ardbroth, and Dundie.

In this same yeir, the earle of Murray cam to the queine at Sanct Andros, becaus he would not consent that shoe should marrie lord Darnely. At this tyme, thair was ane conventioun at Stirling concerning the marriage of the queine with my lord Darnely, and the most pairt of the lordis granted to the same. In the moneth of Junij thairefter, the queine sent for my lord Murray, bot he was advertised, if he cam, he would be put in waird, so he compeired not. In the same yeir, the earle of Rothes, with certain gentlmen, cam to the Parrat wall, besyd the Dowhill, and thought to have taine my lord Darnely from the queine, coneing to the Queines Ferrie from Sanct Johnstoun. The queine being advertaised heirof, shoe past to the Ferrie or they conveined, and disappoynted thame, quhilk turned to thair great displeasour, for in the moneth of Junij thair was letteris direct to thir lordis and gentlmen to vnderly the law.

Att this tyme, thair cam ane ambassadour doun out of England to the queine, desiring the earle of Lennox and his sone to cum in Ingland, or els to tyne the land quhilk he had thair; quhilk was refused. In the same yeir, the lord Darnely was maid earle of Ross, and duik of Rothsay. Att this time, thair was ane parliament proclaimed to the second of September. Vpoun the aught day of Julij preceeding, the queine was married with my lord Darnely, in Edinburgh, in the Abbey of Hollarudhous, with great pomp and triumph, quhair the most pairt of the nobilitie was present, except my lord Hamiltoun, quho was governour to the queine in her minoritie, the earles of Ardgyle, Rothus, and Murray. And thair was ane herald sent to thir lordis, to chairge thame to cum to Edinburgh to the queine, quhilk they refused, and war put to the horne.

Att this time was ane proclamatioun, that all men should meit the queine at Falkland, the thretteine day of August. In this same yeir, the lord Gordoun and Bothwell war restored againe to thair honouris and landis: and my lord Sutherland was send for to Flanderis. Vpoun the 20 day of August was ane proclamatioun maid in Couper of Fyfe, quhilk summondit all men that was at the Parrat

wall to Dumbarton, to waird, and als pat the earle of Rothus to the horne. Att this tyme was ane vther proclamatioun maid to the 24 of August, that all men should be in readines to pas to Glasgow in fear of warre, to resist the lordis that war at the horne. Schort quhill after this, the queine sent out of Glasgow ane herald of armes to Hamiltoun, to chaarge my lord Hamiltoun to delyver the same vnder the paine of treasonn. Vpoun the morne after, the lordis quho war at the horne cam to Edinburgh with thair assisteris, and they that war in the castle shott at thame, and than they passed out of Edinburgh to Dumfries; they being advertaised of the king and queines coming to Edinburgh, they passed to Glasgow againe; and thair remained.

Vpoun the 12 day of September, the king and queine maid the earle of Lennox lustenent of the wast borderis, and thairefter cam to Stirling, Fyfe, and Dundie, and tuik sundrie gentlmen of Fyfe and Angus to put thame in waird, for airt and pairt with the forsaidis lordis who war at the horne. Vpoun the 20 day of September, the king and queine cam to Sanct Johnstoun, and maid ordouris and statutis thair. Att this tyme, the king and queine went to Edinburgh to ane counsall.

About this tyme the earle of Bothwell cam home to Scotland out of France in ane pink, and landit att Cordinghame, and gave his presents to the king and queine, with his kinsfolk, and was receaved in favouris, and was made generall lustennent of the borderis.

Vpoun the 8 day of October, the queine ressaived great sowmes of money from the borrowis, and payed ellevin thousand markis, and gatt the superioritie of Leith.

Not long efter the earle of Huntlie was proclaimed earle of Huntlie againe, and that same day, quhilk was the tent day of October, the king and queine, with the whole bodie of the realme, past out of Edinburgh to Dumfries, with certane cairted peices, quhair my lord Hamiltoun, the earle of Murray, Argyle, and Rothus war, bot they heiring tell of so great power, fled in Ingland: and at Dumfries, the lord Maxwell mett with the king, and cam in his will, and rendrit tuo of his principall castles that war in those pairtes to the king, and syne returned to Edinburgh. Not long efter, thair cam ane Inglish ship to the firth of Scotland, quhilk was ane verrie great schip, and had twentie shott of brassin peices in hir. Some sayes shoe was to receave the lordis quho war at the horne, and some sayes shoe cam to hold wyte of my lord Bothwall, and

to have tane him vpoun the sea : and the cap-
tane of that ship had ane chaine worth ane
thousand crounes, and tuo silver tassis, and
thairefter depairted to Ingland.

Schortlie efter in this yeir, was proclama-
tioun of justice aires to be haldin throw all the
shyres of Scotland, quhilk was to punisch
thame quhilk tuik pairt with the rebellious
lordis. In the moneth of December, thair was
ane proclamatioun maid to the twelff day
thairof, and that to forfalt the lordis that war
in Ingland.

In the moneth of Januar thairefter, came
an ambassadour from the king of France with
ane commissioun, to mak the king knyght of
the cockell, quhilk was done in the same
moneth, in the abbey of Halirudhous. In
Februar thairefter, the French ambassadour
depairted home to France.

Vpoun the 22 day of Februar, the earle of
Bothwall was married vpoun the earle of
Huntlie's sister. The king and queine maid
the banqueitt the first day, quhilk continewed
fyve dayes with justing and tornamentis, and
thair was maid six knyghtis of Fyfe at that
tyme.

Vpoun the 8 day of March, the queine
past to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, with sword,
sceptre and croun borne befoir hir grace, be

the earles of Huntlie, Atholl, and Crawford, bot the king road not that day; in the quhilk parliamient, the earles of Huntlie and Bothwall war restored as said is. Referring the rest to the nixt occasioun of all matteris.

FOLLOWIS THE ADDITIOUN.

CHARLES JAMES, the Sixt of that name, sone to Hendrie Stewart, lord Darnely and Marie, king and queine of Scotland, was borne vpoun the 19 day of Junij 1566 yeires, and the 18 day of December, anno forsaid, he was solemniedlie christened at Stirling: quhose godfatheris war Charles, king of France, and Phebert, duik of Savoy, and the queine of Ingland was his godmother, quho gave ane font of gold curiouslie wrought and enamelled, weighand thrie hunder threttie thrie vneces, amounting in value to the sune of ane thousand four hundreth thrie pund nynteine shillings, sterling money.

The tent of Februar, in the morneing, 1567 yeires, Hendrie Stewart, lord Darnely, and husband to queine Marie, was murdered shamfullie: the revange quhairof remaineth in the handis of Almightye God.

The twenty tuo day of the moneth anno forsaid, lady Margaret Douglas, lauchfull dochter to the earle of Angus, dochter to king Harie the aucht, countess of Lennox, and mother to

the said lord Darnely, was dischairged out of the Tour of Londoun. And the 29 day of Julij anno forsaide, Charles James, the young prince of Scotland, after ane sermon maid be Johne Knox, was crowned king of Scotland at Stirling, quhair thair was red certane commissiounes with the queine of Scotlandis seall at thame, for the establishing of the same, the first for resignatioun of the croun and government of the young prince, hir sone : the second to authorize the earle of Murray to be regent during his minoritie : the third to give authoritie and power to sewin other joyneing with the said earle of Murray, incaice he should refuse to exerce the same allone, that is to say, the duik of Chattleroy, the earles of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Mortoun, Glencairne, and Marre. The commissiounis being endit, the bischope of Akellie, with tuo superintendentis, proceeded to the coronatioun. The earle Mortoun and the lord Home tuik oath for the king, that he should rule in faith, fear and love of God, and to maintaine the religioun than preached in Scotland. He was then annoynted, and had the royall rob put on him : he had the croun vpoun his head, the sword by his syd, and the sceptur in his hand : to the bringing of the everie of which war prayeris maid for everie particular

thing in the Scottish tongue, wherein the wholl ceremonies was maid and done.

The feildis of Tullieangus and Crabstane, was strikin betueine Gordoun and Forbes, in the yeir of God 1571 yeires. In the same yeir was the massacre of France, called the Murther of Pareis.

In the yeir of God 1583 yeires, the earle of Gowrie, lord Ruthven, was execut at Stirling. In the yeir thairefter was the Road of Stirling, and banischmentis of the lordis; and the same yeir was ane great pest in Edinburgh and thairabout, quhair fyfteine thousand persones died. In the yeir 1585 yeires thair was ane great storme of snow in harvest, and the same yeir was the incomeing of the banished lordis, called the Road of Stirling.

In the moneth of Majj thairefter, Marie, queine of Scotland, eschapeing out of prisone, fled into Ingland, and the 16 day of the moneth efter hir escap out of Lochlevin, quhair shoe had been imprisoned, arryved at Wirkingtoun in Ingland, having in hir companie ane small number, quhair shoe stayed, and captane Rid, with fyftie souldiouris, war appoynted to attend on hir, and convoy hir to Carleill, and from thence to Beltoun castle, beloffing to the lord Scrupe, who, with sir Ralph Saidler, send down for the purpose, had the custodie of hir till shoe was

committed to the earle of Shrewisberrie. The twentieth nynt day of October, 1587 thair was ane parliament holdin at Wastminster for try- ing of matteris concerning Marie, queine of Scotland. The sixt of December thairefter, anno forsaide, the lord mayor of Londoun, assisted with diverss earles and barrones, the el- dermen of Londoun in thair skarlett robbis, with thair officeris, and greatest number of thair best accompt about the cittie, to the number of fourscoir of the most gravest and worshipfull citizenes, in coates of welvatt, and chaines of gold, all on horsback, in most so- lemne and staitlie manner, by sound of four trumpettis, about ten of the cloak in the for- noone, maid opin and publick proclamatioun and declaratioun of the sentence givin laitlie be the nobilitie againes Marie, queine of Scot- land, vnder the greatt seall of Ingland, beiring daitt at Richmont, the fourt of December, be- ing opinlie red be Mr Williame Sebright, toun clark of Londoun, with ane loud voyce, so- lemnedlie proclamed by the sergent at armes of the said cittie, in diverss streittis and cor- neris, and namlie in the pallace of Wastmin- ster without Temple Barre, and vther pairtes. The aught day of Februar thairefter, accord- ing to the sentence laitlie givin, Marie Stew- art, queine of Scotland, about ten of the cloke

in the fornoone, was execute, and suffered death by beheading, vpoun ane scaffold sett vp for that purpose in the great hall of Fotheringay, in presence of George Talbott, earle of Shrewisberrie, Hendrie Gray, earle of Kent, principall commissioneris, and vther gentlmen of the countrie adjoyneing, to the number of thrie hundreth persones. Shoe was, as perteaned to ane queine, royallie buried in Pettirborrow.

On the feird day of August nixt following, in the yeir of God 1588, ane navie was sent to the seas, againes the Spanisch Armado, quho war in number ane hundreth fyftie aught saill.

In the yeir following was the Road of the bridge of Die, and the kingis first air in Aberdeine.

In the yeir of God 1590, king James the Sixt was married vpoun Anna of Denmark.

In the yeir of God 1592, the earle of Huntlie slew the earle of Murray at Dunnybirsell. In the same yeir prince Hendrie Fredrick was borne, the nynteine day of Februar, and the same yeir, the aughteine day of August, thair was ane gritt wind that shok the cornes, and be stormes thairefter, that the meill gave aughteine pundis the boll.

In the yeir of God 1596 the feild of Glenlivet was strukin, betuixt Gordoun and Camp-

bell, quhair Gordoun was victour. And in the same yeir Straboggie and Slanes war castin doun, and ane air holdin at Aberdeine.

In the yeir following, the aughteine day of December, was ane vproar in Edinburgh be-tuixt the king and the kirk. And the same yeir the sune ecclipsed totallie.

The 25 day of Februar, in the yeir of God 1598, thair cam ane ambassadour from the king of Denmark to Elizabeth, queine of Ingland, with certane commissiounes from the new king thair of; and to retorne the garter that hir majestie had laitlie bestowed vpon the king laitlie deceased, as the maner of all forrane princes is to doe. He had an audience at the court the sewint of December, anno forsaid, with certane requeistis, such as hir majestie answeired with panes * to everie poynt of thair ambassade. Lastlie, having audience be occasioun on hir majestie's birthday, as he was suirlie informed, begane ane eloquent oratioun, saying, he doubted not bot the king, his maister should, in that happie day, have ane happie answeir of his requeistes. Hir majestie answeired saying, "I blame yow not to expect ane reasonable answeir, bot yea

* Or without pane.

may think it ane gritt miracle how that ane chyld borne at four of the cloak this morneing salbe able to answeir so wyse and learned ane man as yea ar, send from so great ane prince as yea be, about so great and weightie affaires as yea speak of, in ane unknowin tongue, by thrie of the cloak in the efternoone:" And thus, with prudent and gracious wordis, shoe endit, and gave him leive to depairt.

In the yeir of God 1603 yeires, vpoun the 24 day of March, being Thursday, about tua a cloak in the morneing, deceast queine Elizabeth of England, at hir mannour of Richmond in Surrey, shoe being then aiged thriescoir and ten yeires: and had rigned fourtie four yeires, fyve moneths, and od dayes, whose corpes was privilee convoyed to Quhythall, and thair remained till the 28 of Appryll, and was than buried at Wastminster.

It is ane note worthie to be remembrit, that Thursday bath beine ane fatall day to King Hendrie the aught and all his posteritie: for himself died vpoun Thursday the 28 day of Januar; king Edward vpoun Thursday the 6 of Julij; queine Marie on Thursday the 17 of November, and queine Elizabeth vpoun Thursday the 24 of March.

Vpoun the said 24 of March the lordis spirituall and temporall of the realme, assisted

with those of hir majestie's laitt privie counsall, assembled thaimselfis togidder to tak ordour of the publisching of the queine's depairture, should also be declaired to the comfort of the realme, hir lauchfull successour, and, about ten of the cloak at noone in the same day, which efter the accompt of the church of England, the last of the yeir of Chryst 1602, having proclaimed king James at the court gaitt, entred the cittie of London by Ludgaitt, quhair finding Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, aldermen, and citizenes, they altogether, with ane multitud of vther guid subjectis, rode to the croce of West Cheape, and on the wast syd thair of, with sounding of trumpettis, caused to be proclaimed king James of Scotland, the Sixt of that name in Scotland, and of England, France, and Irland, defender of the faith, the First, as lauchfull air, lineallie descendit from Margaret, eldest dochter to Hendrie the Sewint, and Elizabeth his wayff, eldest dochter to Edward the Fourt, married to James the Fourt, king of Scotland, in the yeir of God 1503, ane hundreth yeire and more since, who had issue king James the Fyft, father to Mariethe First, mother to James the Sext, now king of this wholl illand, England, Scotland, and Waillis, with the realmes of France and Irland.

.. Sir Robert Cecill, principall secretarie, red the

proclamatioun, Williame Dethick alias Garter, principall king at armes, pronounced it with ane audable voyce. From thence they rode into Milk streit, to the hous of James Pembertoun, on of the sheriffs of Londoun, quhair they dyned, and efter satt in counsall. This morning, being Thursday, was directed in post Sir Robert Carie, knyght, towardis Scotland, to signify in Scotland quhat had beine done in Ingland, which he performed to the king att Edinburgh, vpoun Saturday at night following, which was the 27 of March, and the first newis to the king of his sisteris death.

This change was verrie plausable, or weill pleasing to the wholl nobilitie, and generallie to all commounes both of Scotland and Ingland, among quhom the name of king was so strange, as few could remember, or had seine ane king befor, except they war aiged per-sones : considdering that the governament of the realme had continewed neir the space of fyftie yeires vnder the rigne of tuo queines, which is the greatest pairt of ane mane's aige. Bot tydingis being brought heir in Scotland to the king, he called ane counsall to him in taking ordour for setling all thingis in this realme of Scotland : Begane his voyage towardis Ingland, and did so much, that efter monie dayes journey, and ludging in the houssis of sundrie

noblmen, he arrived at London the sewint day of May 1603 ; and he was ludgit at the Charterhous, making many knyghtis be the way as he cam.

James the First, sone to Hendrie Stewart and Marie, laitt queine of Scotland, borne in Edinburgh castle, begane his rigne over the realme of Ingland the 24 day of March, the last of the yeir 1602 ; and threttie six yeires and better he had almost rigned king of Scotland, in peace with all Christiane princes, which peace he also brought into Ingland: God mak ws thankfull, and grant him in that blissed peace many yeires to rigne over ws.

Diverss prisoneris tuiching the laitt earle of Essex, war delyvered out of the tour of London, naimlie, the earle of Southamtoun, on the tent of Appryll. The 27 day of the same moneth proclamatioun was maid for the apprehensioun of Williame and Patrik Ruthvenes, brethreine to the laitt earle of Gowrie.

The 28 of Appryll the corporis of queine Elisabeth entred in the vault of hir grandfather Hendrie the sevint, in his most bewtifull chappell, most triumphantlie, quhair the reverend father in God, Anthonie Watsoun, bischop of Chester, maid ane learned sermon.

Thair was estemed of mourneris in black sixteine hundreth persones.

In this meantyme, on the first day of Appryll, king James depairted from Edinburgh attended upon with multitudes of his nobilitie, earles, lordis, barrones, and gentlemen in Scotland, and some Frenchmen, as the French ambassadour being in Scotland, besydis in his traine many gallantis and weill appparelled gentlmen, quho all attendit vpoun him that day from Edinburgh to Dunglese, ane house of the lord Hoomes; quhair he repoissed himselff that night. The sixt day of Appryll his majestie progressed from Dunglas towardis Barvick, having than attending vpoun him monie moe nobles, knyghtis and gentlmen, besydis the lordis, wairdenes of the merchis and borderis of Scotland, with several companies to ressaive him. The lord governour of Barvick, also accompanied with the counsall of warre; the constables with thair coronettis of horss, and divers captanes of gentlmen of the land, penticners and vtheris, advanced fordward to meitt, entertaine, and conduct his majestie into the toun of Bervicke. This might seem ane strange and happie day, when peaceable so many Inglisch warlick gentlmen, went out to bring in ane Inglisch and Scottish king, both

includit in on persone, into that toun, which for many hundreth yeires had beine ane enemye, or held for the on natioun or the other; bot the king of peace hath so ordained it to be. The companies met him, and was gratuslie ressaived of his highnes; so falling in among the other troupes, they sett fordward, and when his highness cam within half a myle of the toun, and began to tak vieve thairof from the castle, cam sick ane tempest as it war thunder. It was crediblie reported, that ane better pale of ordinance was nevir in ony souldieris memorie dischaired in that place. The king being cum to the yettis, the smoake of gunpouder evainished, and isched out of the toun Williame Selbie, gentleman porter of Bervick, with vther gentlmen of accompt, and humbling himself before the king presented vnto him the keyis of the portis, quho ressaived thame gratuslie, and being entred within the gaittes, he restored the said Williame Selbie the keyis againe, and graced him with the honour of knighthood, for his service. This done, his majestie entred the second yett; and being within both the wallis, he was ressaived be the captane of the waird, and so passed throw ane double guard of souldiouris, weill armed in all poyntis. Betuixt this guard, his majestie passed on to the mer-

catt croce, quhair the major and his brother
ressaved him, with no small signes of joy ; bot
the commoun people omitted nothing thair
power could attaine vnto, and expres loyall
dewtie and heartie affectioun, kneilling, shout-
ing, and crying God save king James, till they
wer in a manner intreated to be silent. Then
Mr Christopher Parkinsone, the recorder of
Barvick, ane man grave and reverend, maid
ane braw speach to his majestie, acknowledg-
ing him thair sole and soveraine lord, to
quhom in name of the rest he surrendrit thair
chartour, and presenting his highnes also
from thame with ane purs of gold, which, as
ane offering of thair love, he gratuslie res-
saived, and for thair said chartour he answeir-
ed thame, that it sould be continewed, and
that he should maintain thair privileges, and
uphold thame and thair toun in all equitie, be
reasoun it was the principall and first place
honoured with his most gratus persone.
From thence his majestie passed into the
chyrch to humble himself before the exhalter
of the humble, and thank him for his bene-
fices, bestowed vpoun him: att which tyme
preached befor him the reverend father in
God, Toby Mathew, bischop of Durhame,
quho maid a most learned sermon, quhilk
finished, the king depairted to his pallace,

and than they gave him ane peall of great ordinance, more nor befoir, nevir having king to rest within thair wallis for many yeires befoir.

The nixt day being the 7 of Apryll, his majestie ascendit the wallis, quhairvpoun all the commoneris and vtheris, officeris belonging to the great ordinance, stood everie on in his awin place, the captanes with thair bandis of souldiouris, lykwayes vnder thair collouris; among which warlick traine his majestie, to shew ane instance how he loved and respected the airt militarie, he maid ane shott himselff out of ane cannon, so far and with such signe of experience, the most expert guneris thair gave it just commendatioun. After this he left that pairt of the wall, and being attendit vpoun by his nobilitie, both of Scotland and England, the lord Hendrie Howard, brother to the laitt Duke of Norfolk, and the lord Cobhame, being newly cum to the toun, and gairdit be the gentlemen pentioneris of Bervick, he bestowed that day in surveying of the fortificatiounes, commending the militarie ordour of the toun, and so returned to his palace.

The 8 of Appryll the trumpettis wairned for the remove, and all that morneing his majestie with royall liberalitie bestowed among

the garrisone souldiouris, and everie officer of warre according to his place, rich and bountifull rewairdis. Efter denner his grace monted on horsback, and tuik leive of Barvick, and proceidit into Ingland, quhair he was ressaved be Nicolas Forrester, high chamberland of Northumberland, and accompanied with the gentlmen of the shyre, quho, ryding befor his majestie, led the way to Withringtoun, quhair by the maister of the place, Sir Robert Carie and his ladie, he was ressaved with all dewtie and affection, the hous being plentifulle furnished for his intertainment.

The nynt of Appryll he sett forwardis to Newcastle, being sixteine mylles from Wothringtoun, quhair his majestie was mett be the maior, aldermen, counsall, and best commones of the same. In joyfull maner the maior presented him with the sword and keyis with humble submission, giving to his majestie also, in takin of love and loyaltie, ane purs full of gold. His grace returned to the maior the sword and keyis, ratifieing all thair customes and priveledges that they war possessed of; and so was conductit to the maiores hous, quhair he was richlie entertained, and remained thair thrie dayes.

Sunday being the tent of Appryll his majestie went to the church, befor quhom

preached the bischope of Durhame. Monday he bestowed in vieving the toun, the manner and the bewtie thairof, bridge and the key, being on of the fairest in all the north pairtes; besydes, he releived all prisoneris except for treasoun and papistrie; giveing sowmes of money for the releife of many that lay for debt. So joyfull war the tounes men of Newcastle of his majesties being thair, that they thankfullie bure all chaarge of his housold during the tyme of his abod with thame.

The 13 day of Appryll his majestie sett fordwads towardis Durhame, and when he cam neir, the magistrates of the toun mett him, in behaving thanselffis as vtheris befoir thame. It was by his highness thankfullie acceptit, and passing throw the gattis, whence he entred the mercatt gatt, thair was ane oratioun maid to him, which being endit, he passed towardis the bishopsis hous, quhair he was royallie ressaived be the bischope, attending him with ane hundreth gentlmen in tawnie luferay coattis. The 14 day his majestie tuik leiff of the bishop of Durhame, whom he greatlie graced and commendit for his learned humanitie and gravitie, promising to restore diverss thingis takin from the bishopricks, his majestie removed towardis Walworth, sixteine mylles from Durhame, quhair, by the

gentlwoman of the hous, named Mistres Gemisone, he was bountifullie intertained.

The 15 day of Appryll, his majestie sett fordwardis to York, his traine still increased, by the number of gentlemen from the South pairtis, that cam to offer him fealtie, whose love he greatlie tendred: Yitt did thair multitud so oppres the countrie, and maid provisioun so dear, that he was fain to publish an inhibitioun againes the inordinat and daylie accese of peoples comeing, that manie war stopped aff thair way. The high sheriff of Yorkschyre verrie weill accompanied, attendit his majestie to Inglebees, besyd Topcliff, being about sixteine mylles from Walworth, who with great humilitie resaved his majestie, quhair he rested that night.

The 16 of Appryll, his majestie removed towardis York, being sixteine mylles from Topcliff, and when he cam about some thrie myles from York, the liberties of the citie extending so farre, Mr Buckie and Mr Robert-sone, sheriff of the citie, mett him, and with humble dewtie presented him with thair quhyt staffis, which his grace ressaived, and delyvered thame againe. So they attendit him towardis the citie, within ane myll of which, when his highness approached, thair met him the lord Burlie, lord präsident of the north, with manie

worthie knyghtis and gentlemen of the shyre. These also attendit on his persone to York, quhair, when he cam neir the citie, thair mett him thrie of the serjeantis, Mr Wood, Mr Damfort, and Mr Westrope, quho delyvered thair maces, which his majestie redelivered againe, commanding thame to awaitt on him; and the same tyme the sergeant trumpetter and some others, did in lyk manner submit thaimselffis, quhom in lyk manner he commanded to await on him. Then he rod till he cam to on of the gaittes of York, quhair the lord maior of the citie, the aldermen, and wealthiest commounes, with abundance of other people, mett him thair. Ane long oratioun being maid, the lord maior delyvered him the sword and keyis togidder with ane coup of gold; which present, his grace thankfullie accepted, delyvering the keyis againe to my lord maior. Bot about beiring of the sword, thair was sum argument: the lord president taking it to be his place, the lord maior esteeming it to be his. Bot the king demandit the sword, sieing they would not be pleased, that he sould have the dispositioun thairof, quhairvnto they humblye answeired, it was all at his pleasour. His grace delyvered the sword to the earle of Cumberland, quho bare it befor him from the gate to the Minster: in which way, thair was

was ane conduit that ran all day, whyte wyne and claret: everie man to drink als much as he list. From the Minster, his grace went on fute under ane canopy, borne by four knightis, to his awin hous, being in the mannour of Sanct Maries, quhair he was honorablie resaved be the lord Burlie, who gave chearfull intertainment to all his followeris, during the tyme of his continewance in York.

The 17 day of Apryll, being Sunday, the king went on fut to the Minster to hear the sermon which was preached be doctour Thorborrow, deane of York, and bischop of Limerick, in Irland, whose doctrin and method of preaching was highlie by his majestie commendit. The sermon endit, the king returned on fut the same sort that he cam to his manor, quhair he was royallie feasted by the lord Burghlie during his continwance in that mannor of Sanct Maries. It is said to exceid all the rest in any part of England befoir; buttries, pantries, and sellaris alwayes held opin in great abundance for all comeris.

Monday the 18 of Appryll, his majestie was feasted by my lord maior of York, quhom he knyghted by the name of Sir Robert Waller. Efter denner, his majestie commandit all prisoneris to be sett at libertie, except papistis and wilfull murthereris, and road from York

to Grimstoun, being ane hous of Sir Edward Stanhopes, quhair he lay that night, and dined the next day.

The 19 day of Appryll, his grace road to Pomfret castle, quhich, when he had viewed, road to Doncaster, quhair he lodged at the signe of the Beare and the Sun. The 20 day of Appryll, his majestie road towardis Warsope, the earle of Shrewisberries houss: and at Battin the high schirreff of Yorkschyre took his leive of the king, and Mr Askoth, high scherriff of Nottinghameshire, ressaived him, and so conducted him till he cam within ane myll of Blyth, quhair his grace alighted, and salt down on ane bank syd to eatt and drink: efter which short repast, he road forward to Warsope: bot in the park he was sumquhat stayed, for thair appeared ane number of huntsmen all in greine, the cheife of which, in ane woodmanes speach, did velcome him to show him some game, which he glaidlie condescendit to sie, and with ane traine, he hunted ane guid space, and went into the hous, quhair he was so noblie and royallie receaved with abundance of all thingis, that still everie intertainment seemed to exceed vtheris. The 21 day of Appryll, his grace tuik his way towardis Newark vpoun Trent, quhair that night he ludged in the

castell, quhair the aldermen presentit him with ane fair gilt cup, which was kyndlie acceptit. In this toun, and in the court, was takin ane cut purs doeing the deid, and being ane base pitifull theife, yitt he was gentleman lyk in the outsyd. This fallow had guid store of coyne fund about him : and vpoun examination, confessed that he had come from Barvick vnto that place played the cut purs in the court. The king heiring of this gallant, directed ane warrand to the recorder of Newark to have him hanged, which was accordinglie execute ; and all the rest of the prisoneris of the castle was pardoned.

The 22 day of Appryll, his grace road to Beaver castle, hunting all the way as he rode. Att Beaver castle, his highnes was royallie resaved be the earle of Rutland and his countes, and plentifulle intertained.

The 23 day of Appryll, his highnes rod fordwardis towardis Burghlie, and be the way dynd at Sir John Haringtones, quhair that worthie knyght maid him most royall intertainment. From thence, his grace rode to Burghley, quhair his grace with all his traine was receaved with great magnificence : the hous seeming so rich as if it had beine furnished at the chaarges of ane emperour. The nixt day, being Easter day, thair preached be-

foir him the bischop of Lincolne, and the sermon was no sooner done, bot all the offi-
cies of the hous war sett oppin, that everie
man might have frie acces to buttries, pan-
tries, kitchingis, to eat and drink at thair
pleasure.

The 27 day of Appryll, his highnes re-
moved towardis Hinchinbrok, to Sir Oliver
Crumbvellis, and be the way dyned at Sir
Anthonie Mildmayes, quhair nothing wanted
in ane subjectis dewtie to his soverane. Din-
ner and banquet being past, and the king at
poynt to depairt, Sir Anthonie presented his
grace with ane gallant Barbarie hors, and rich
sadle and furnitur suitable, which his highnes
thankfullie accepted, and rode towardis Sir
Oliver Crumbvellis, and about some halfe
mylle or he cam thair, his majestie was mett
be the baillie of Huntingtoun, quho maid to
him ane long oratioun, and thair delyvered
him the sword; which his grace gavè to the
earle of Southamptoun to bear befor him to
Sir Oliver Crumbvellis hous, quhair his grace,
with his followeris, with all thair comeris, had
such intertainment as not the lyk had beine
seine a befor; thair was such plentie and va-
riete of meattis and diversitie of wyne, and
the cellaris opin at everie manes pleasour.

Thair attendit also att Mr Oliver Crumbvellis, the headis of the vniversitie of Cambridge, all cled in skarlett gownes, and corner capes; which having presens of his majestie, thair was maid ane eloquent and learned oratioun in latine, welcoming his majestie, and also intratting the confirmatioun of thair priuiledges, which his grace most willinglie granted. Mr Crombwaill presenttit his majestie with many rich and acceptable giftis, as ane verrie great and fair vrought standing cup of gold, goodlie horssis, deip mouthed houndis, diverss halkis of excellent wing; and at his remove, gave fyftie pundis of Sterling money among his majesties officeris.

The 29 day of Appryll, efter breakfast, his grace tuik leive of Mr Oliver Crumbwaill and of his lady, laitt widow to Seingeor Paulo Horatio Vicino. From thence he depairted to Roystoun, and as he passed throw Gudeman Chester, ane toun close by Huntingtoun, the baillies of the toun, with thair brethren, mett him, acknowledging thair alleadgance, conveying him throw the toun. Thair they presenttit him with thriescoir and ten teeme of horssis, all traced to fair new pleughis, in show of thair husbandrie, quhich, quhill his majestie being verrie weill delighted with the sight thairof, demandit quhy they offered

him so many horssis and pleughis: he was answerit, that it was thair ancient custome, quhensoevir any king of Ingland passed throw thair toun, so to present him: besydis they added, that they held thair landis by that tenour, being the kingis tennentis. His majestie not onlie took weill in worth thair guid myndis, bot bad thame vse weill thair pleughis, being glaid he was landlord of so manie guid husbandmen in on toun. His grace in his way towards Roystoun, the high shirreff of Huntingtoun shyre tuik his leive; and was thair receaved be Sir Edward Deny, high shirreff of Hartsoordshyre, attendit on by ane guidlie companie, in number sewinscoir, suitable apparralled in blew luferay coattis and quhyt doublettis, and hattis with featheris, all mounted on horsback, with rich saiddellis. Sir Edward efter his humble dewtie, presenttit his highnes with ane gallant hors, ane rich saidle and furnitur correspondent, being of great value; which his highnes accepted gratuslie, and caused him to ryd on the said hors befor him. The knyght monted quicklie on the said hors, and in brave manner conducted his majestie to on Mr Chesteris hous, quhair his majestie lay that night on his awin kinglie chairges.

The 30 day of Appryll, his majestie rode to

Standoun, to Sir Thomas Saidleris, and be the way the bischope of London mett him, attendit on by ane guidlie companie of gentlemen in tawnie coattis, and chaines of gold. Att Sir Thomas Saidleris, his majestie wa^s royallie intertained for himselff and his kinglie traine: thair his grace stayed Sunday, befor quhom the bischop of London preached.

The second day of Maij, being Monday, his majestie removed to Broxburne, ane hous of Sir Hendrie Cokis, cofferer to the laitt queine Elizabeth, and now also cofferer to his majestie, quhair thair mett him the lord keiper of the great seall, the lord admirall, with most pairt of the nobilitie of the land and counsall of estate, quho war favourablie receaved. Att which tyme; the said lord keiper maid ane breife and learned speach to his majestie, to which his majestie answeired with great grace and princliè wisdome. Bot to speak of his grace intertainment at Broxburne, it was such, and so abundant, as thair was no man of quhatsoever condition but had quhat appetit desired; his majestie also ressaiving thair by great contentment: and continewing bot on night, depairted the nixt day, thanking the guid knyght for his great expensis. The 3 day of Maij he cam to Theobaldis, ane hous belonging to Sir Robert Cecile. Att this

hous, thair mett his majestie all for the most pairt of the old servandis and officeris in household of the laitt queine, and with thame, the guard of his majesties bodie, and all of thame being courteslie ressaived to thair awin content. Also in this hous of Theobaldis, the fourth day of Maij, his Majestie maid divers noblmen of Scotland of his honorabill counsall, viz. the duik of Lennox, the earle of Marre, the lord Home, Sir George Home, thesaurer of Scotland, Sir James Elphinstoun, secritar to the king : the lord of Kinlose, now maister of the rolls : Also the Inglisch nobilitie he maid of his counsall ; the lord Hendrie Howard, brother to James Howard, late duik of Northfolk ; Thomas, lord Howard, sone to the said duik, quho was also maid thair lord chamberland ; and the lord Montjoy, not then returned out of Irland. His grace stayed at Theobaldis four dayes, with intertainment such, and so coastlie, as hardlie can be expressed, considdering the multitud that hither resorted, besydis the tryne, non going thence vnsatisfied : The king maid knyghtis thair, as is said, twentie aught.

The sewint of Maij, being Saturday, he removed from Theobaldis towardis London, ryding throw the medowis, quhair, within tuo myllis on this syd Wealtheame, on of the she-

riffis of London, called Johne Somertoun, and als sheriff of Midlesex, met his majestie with sixtie men in luferay coattis, quhair ane eloquent and learned oratioun was maid to his highnes by Richard Marteine, gentlman of the Middle Temple. Besydis these men in luferay coattis that attendit the sheriff, all mounted on gallant horssis, most of the sheriffs officeris attendit vpoun him, quho conducted the king within some tuo mylles of London, and at Stainfordhill, the lord Maiore of London presenttit himselff, with quhom war the eldermen in gownes of skarlett, and chaines of gold about thair neckis, with all cheife officeris and counsall of the citie, besydis five hundreth citizenes, all verrie weill monted, cled in welvott coattis, and chaines of gold, with the chiefe gentlmen of the hundredis, who maid ane guid shaw to intertaine thair soverane. Thair also mett his majestie, all the officeris of estate, as serjantes at armes, with thair rich maces; the heraldis in thair coattis of armes, and trumpetters in thair deu place everie on. The duik of Lennox, beiring the sword of honour befor him, his majestie passed over the fieldis, and cam in at the back syd of the Chartour hous, quhair he was most royallie receaved, and intertained be the lord Thomas Howard. He lay thair four nightis, and at his departour maid a-

bout aughtie knightis. The 11 day of Maij, his grace rod in coatch, sumquhat closelie from the Charterhous to Quhythall, and from thence was convoyed by watter to the Tour of London, and thair was attending on him the lord Zouche and the lord Burghlie, sworne the said day privie counsallouris to his majestie, att Charterhous, the lord admirall, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Worchester, and vtheris.

The first day his majestie wieved the offices in the tour as the armorie, the wardrope, the artaillie, etc. The nixt day he saw the ordinance hous, the mint houssis, and at the last the lyones, etc.

The 20 day of Maij, being Fryday, his grace maid barrones and knyghtis in the Tour, to the number of twelff or thairby. The 17 day of Maij forsaid, proclamatioun was maid againes roberis in the borderis. The 22 day of Maij, his grace knighted Sir Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, and vtheris. His majestie was that day most royallie served, and at night divers fyreworkis on the Theames wer showed for triumph.

Also in the moneth of Junij, thair cam ambassadouris from the Palsegrave of Rhyne, and from the estaittes of Holland and Zea-

land, and from the archduik of Austria, and from the French king, etc.

The second of Julij thairefter, the feast of Sanct George was royallie keiped at Windsor by the king and knyghtis of the Honorable ordour of the Garter, quhair the prince, the duik of Lennox, the earle of Southampton, the earle of Marre, and the earle of Pembrok, wer installed.

The 21 day of Julij, wer created at Hampton court; in the great hall, by the kingis majestie, vnder his estat, and the queine present, to the number of thretteine or fourteine earles and barones.

Fryday the 22 day of Julij, the king and queine removed to Wastminster; and on Saturday the 23 the king dubbed knyghtis in his gardeine the judges, serjantis at law, and manie vther, thrie or four hundred: and Sunday, the 24 of Julij, war performed the solemnitie of the knyghtis of the Bath ryding honorable from Sanct James' to the court, and maid show with thair squyeris and pages about the tilt yaird: and efter went to the park of Sanct James, and thair alighted all from thair horssis, and went vp to the kingis majestie's presence in the galleray, quhair they receaved the ordour of the knighthood of the Bath.

The 25 day of Julij, being Monday, and the feast of the blissed apostle, Sanct James, king James of England, the First of that name, with the noble ladie queine Anne, war togidder crouned and anoynted at Wast Minster, be the reverend father in God, Quhytgift, archbischope of Canterburrie, in presence of the nobilitie, and namlie sir Robert Lee, lord mayor of London, in ane gown of crimsoun welvett, his brether the eldermen, in gownes of skarlett, and twelff principall citizenis admitted to attend on thame. Those in the morneing earlie entred in the maiores bairge at the thrie cranes staires, and was rowed to Wastminster. All vther citizenis stayed from passage thither aither be watter or by land als much as might be. Fryday, being the fift of August, by commandement of the ordinarie was keiped holyday, with prayeris, bonfyres, and sermones, and all that night all men to praise God for the kingis escap from being murthered be ane most wicked tratour, the earle of Gowrie.

The fourteine day of August Sir Williame Dethick, garter principall king at arines, was sent to Petirborrow, in Northamptoun schyre, with ane rich pale of welvett, imborderred with the armes of the mightie princes Marie, queine of Scottis, having lettres direct to

the reverend lord, the bischop of Petirborrow, in that behalfe, which palle of welvett imbrodered was by him solemnedlie carried, and laid vpoun and over the corporis of the same laitt queine, assistit be many knyghtis and gentlemen, and much people, at the time of divine service; and than the said bischope preached ane sermon in that behalfe in the morneing, and maid ane great feast at denner, and the deane of the same preached in the estirnoone. The said queine of Scotland was royallie and sumptuouslie interred by the said garter on the first day of August 1587.

Upoun the sixt day of November thairefter, the high and mightie prince Frederick, duik of Wortenberge, etc. quho had beine elected befor to be on of the companie of the most noble ordour of the garter, in the 25 yeir of the rigne of queine Elizabeth, which was the day appoyntted for that action, the said duik was invested; the robbis, garter, and other ornamentis war performed in the cathedrall church of that cittie; and all the rest of that day was spendit with great feast and triumph, v^errie admirable to beholderis.

The 15 day thairefter, king James, queine Anne his wayff, and Hendrie Frederick, the prince, past triumphantlie from the Tour of London throw his royall cittie and chamber

of London, to Westminster. The companies of the cittie, martialled according to thair degrees, war placed, the first beginning at the upper end of Mark lane, and the last reached to the conduit of Fleit Streit, or thairabout, thair seattis being double railled; vpoun the vpper end quhairof they leaned the streameris, ensignes, and banneris of each particular companie, decentlie fixed, and directlie againes thame quyt throw the boddie of the citie, so high as Temple bar, ane single rail, ane fair distance from the other, was lykwayis erected to put off the multitud: the king richlie mounted on ane quhyt gennett, vnder ane rich canopy, susteained be aught gentlemen of the privie chamber, for the barrones of the Cinque Portis, entred his royall citie of London, and passed the same towardis Westminster, throw sewin gaittes, off the which the first was erected at the east end of the Fenchurch; over the which gaitt was represented the true liknes of the notable houssis, toures, and steiples, within the citie of London. The second gaitt, a most sumptuous peace of workmanship, was loftilie raised in Grase streit be the Italianes. The third gaitt, vpoun Cornehill by the Exchange, representing the sewinteine provinces of Belgia, or the Duch nation; and by thame raised close to Sanct Mildredis church. In the

Poutrie ane scaffold was erected, quhair, at the cities cost, to delight the queine with hir awin countrie musick, nyne trumpettis and ane kettel drum did actuallie sound the Danisch merch, etc. The fourt gaitt, quhair throw his grace passed, at charges of the citizenes, raised at Wast Cheap and Super lane, and adjoyning to the east front of the gritt croce. In the Cheap was erected ane squar low galarie, sum four fute from the ground, sett round about with pilley staires, quhair stood the eldermen, the chamberlane, toun clark, counsall of the citie, Sir Hendrie Mountague, recorder of the citie, quho maid to his majestie ane gratularie oratioun, as followeth :

“ Heigh imperial majestie, it is not ane yeir in dayes, since with acclamatoun of the people, citizenis, and nobles, auspiciouslie hear at this croce wes proclaimed your true successioun to the crowne ; if than it was joyous with handis and heartis lift vp to heavin to cry king James, quhat is it now to sie king James ! Come, thairfoir, O worthiest of kingis, as ane glorious brydgroome throw your royall chamber. Bot to cum nearer, *adest quem querimus* : twentie and more are the soveranes we have served since our conqueist, but, conquerour of hairtes, it is yow and your posteritie that we have voved to love and wisch to serve quhillst

London is ane citie ; in pledge quhairof, my lord maior, the eldermen, and commounes off the citie, wisching ane goldin rigne to yow, presentis your grace with ane litle cup of gold."

At the end of the oratioun thrie cupes of gold war givin, in the name of the lord maior and the haill bodie of the citie, to his grace, the young prince and the queine. From thence his majestie passed to the litle conduit of Paullis gatt, quhair was placed the fyft gaitt, arbour lyk, and so called the Arbour of musick. From thence he passed throw Paullis church yaird, vpoun the lower battelmentis of which church ane antheme was sung be the quiresteris of the church to the musick of loud instrumentis, which being finisched, ane litle oratioun was delyvered be ane of Mr Mulcasteris scolleris, at the doore of the frie scoll foundit be Doctour Collet, sumtyme deane of Paullis church. The sixt airche or gaitt of triumph was erected aboue the Conduit in Fleit streit, quhairon the glob of the world was seine to move, etc. Att Temple Barre, when his grace was vpoun the poynt of giving ane gracious princle farweill to the lord maior and the citie, a sewint gaitt or airche was erected, the forfront quhairof was pro-

portioned in everie respect lyk ane temple being dedicat to James, etc.

Lastlie, the citie of Wastminster and duchie of Lancaster, at the Strand, had invented the inventioun of ane rainbow, the sunne, moone, and staires advanced betuixt tuopiramidis, which peace of work was begune and endit in twelff dayes. Off all which pageantis and devyces, speaches and songis declaired in thame, yea may reid at lairge in ane buik, intituled, the Magnificent Intertainment givin to King James, etc. vpoun the day of his triumphant passage from the Tour through his honorabill citie of Londoun, the 15 of March 1603, be Thomas Decker.

The 19 day of August, in the afternoone, about fyve of the cloak, ane joyfull peace was proclaimed at the croce in Wast Cheap, to the honour of God and tranquillitie of these our vnited kingdomes, with the high and mightie prince Phillip, the Third of that name, king of Spaine, and Albert and Isable, archduik of Austria and duikis of Burgundie. Williame Segar, alias garter king at armes, red the proclamatioun, being present aught or ten heraldis in thair coattis of armes, sergeant, trumpettar, and vther aught trumpettaris sounding, and Sir Williame Rhennie, on of the sheriffis of

Londoun, in skarlett, all on horsback, daittit at Quhythall, the day and yeir forsaide.

The 24 day of October, king James was in most solemne manner, at the great croce in Wast Cheape, proclaimed king of Gritt Brit-tane, France, and Irland, defender of the faith, etc. ; Sir Thomas Bennett, lord maior of London, his brethrein, the eldermen, in skarlett, with thair heraldis and trumpettaris, all on horseback, being present.

The fourt day of Januar afternoone, Charles duik of Albanie, ane chyld of sum four yeires old, second sone to king James, now prince of Great Brittane, was created duik of York, in the hall, quhair the king satt most royallie vnder the cloath of estaitt. Att the quhilk tyme the heraldis goeing befoir, the knyghtis of the bath followed, efter thame the lord chamber-lane, earle of Suffolk, in his robbis of estait, goeing alone ; than Hendrie Howard, earle of Northamptoun, and Charles Blunt, earle of Devonschyre, carrieing the robbis of estat for the duik of York : efter the earle of Southamp-toun carried the coronett, the earle of Cumber-land the goldin rod, the earle of Worcester the cup of estate, and the earle of Notingham-bair the duik of Albanie in his armes, support-ed be the earle of Dorsett, lord theasurer, and the earle of Northumberland : quho all com-

ing in this order befor the king, the duik was, efter the patent red, created duik of York, the robbis and coronett put on him, the goldin rod delyvered into his hand. All which performed, they went to dinner, the duik of York and the earle sitting at on table in the vpper end of the great chamber, in the robbis of estaitt : the knyghtis of the bath by thaimselfis at ane vther table on the syd of that chamber.

The right honorable Roger, earle of Rutland, appoyntted be the kingis majestie to be ambassadour to his loving brother, Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark, alsweill to solemnize, in his behalfe, the christianing of the said kingis sone, as also to present his highnes with the most noble ordour of the garter, tuik his leave at the court att Greenwich, on Sunday the 27 day of Junij 1603 yeires, and on Monday imbarked himselff att Gravesend, in his majestie's ship called the Goldin Lyon, being worthilie accompanied with nyne knyghtis, twentie squyres, his freindis and allyes, besydis about ane hundreth gentlmen and yeamen, his servantis and followeris. On Twysday the 28 his lordship sett saill att Gravesend. On Wenisday at night we lost sight of land, and the wind and weather being favourable, on Twysday sewint night following, we arryved and saiflie anchored within the Sonde of

Denmark. Wpoun Thursday his lordschip landit at Elsinvre, and was visited and saluted from the king. On Fryday he rested himself, and on Saturday tuik journey to Coppin Heavin, quhair the king then was, with sewin scoir waggones prepared for his transportatioun: his majestie also having sent tuo verrie fair coatches, and some gentlmen, his servantis, to attend on him. By the way his lordschip was mett by Ramellius and sum other of the kingis counsall, who, by ane oratioun maid in Latine, saluted his lordschip with most kindlie welcome, signifieing, that it was the kingis plesour that himself and all his traine should be frie of all chaarge during thair abod in his countray, and to that end had so ordained, that in all the tounes and villages quhair we passed, wyne and beir, and all other victuallis war plentifulle and friely offered vnto all men. This oratioun was answered by Mr Nantoun, ane learned gentleman that attendit my lord for that purpose.

That evening we cam to Coppin Heavin the ambassadour and his brother war ludged in the court; and the knightis and gentlmen in the toun. That night the earle was visited in his ludging, by some of the kingis counsall, and some complimentis passed betuixt

the king and the ambassadour by messages onlie.

Sunday in the morneing, being the tent of Julij, his lordshipe was appoyntted to have audience of the king; and thairvpon about the hour of nyne, his lordschip sett forth of his ludging with all his attendentis in verrie guid ordour, and richlie beseine. His gentlmen of the better sort had ane luferay of skarlett, and with fyve or six silver laces about: and the meaner sort with als many guardis of quhyt satine. The kingis majestie stood on ane halfe pace, in ane great chamber, at the syde of ane squar table, placed vnder ane cloath of estate of crimsoun welvett. He was apparrelled in blak: for he than mourned for his brother, which died in Russia. Att my lordis approach he vncovered his head, and descending the halfe pace, imbraced my lord with much kindness. Then began Mr Nantoun, my lordis oratour, his oratioun in Latine, which he performed with great eloquence, and in handling the pairtis of his oratioun, he first presented the king of Brittaines letteris of credence, and deputatioun for the baptizing of the chyld, and than the commissioun for the ordour of the garter, all which the king of Denmark ressaived and red, and by sum few instructiouns given by his majestie, to Ramellius his coun-

sallour, Ramellius answered the oratione poyntlie with great learning and readines. Efter the which, the king discoursed ane quhyll in the Italiane tongue with the ambassadour, taking knawledge of the knightis and gentlmen, who kissed his highnes' hand; and also proceidit to the church to the christening of the young prince, in manner following:

The streattis of Coppin Heavin, throw which his royal highnes sould pas, wer sett with certane ensignes and burgeris both of shott and pick: the kingis trumpetteris road formost sounding; then followed the kelle drumes; then the kingis housold servantis on fute; efter quhom followed ffyftie gentlmen, all mounted on great horss, apparrelled in blak, quho mourned as the king did. Then cam the lord ambassadeures attendantis, followeris, and servantis, accompanied with divers Danes on fute; the bischop of Bream, with the deputies of Saxoun, Brunswick, and Brandeburge, accompanied each other. The king, the lord ambassadour, and duik Ulrick, the kingis brother, road all thrie togidder. The queine mother followed, invested in quhyt, sitting alone in ane chariott of crimson welvett, emborderred and richlie gilt, bearing the young prince in hir armes. The chariott was drawin with six quhyt horss, sumptuouslie

harnished and plumed, and ane guard of Switzers, suitted in red and yellow silk, bearing light torches thairabout. Efter followed a spair charriott of purple welvett, richlie embroidered, and efter it diverss coatthes of the queines veomenis, apparrelled into quhyt lyk vnto nunes. Thus with great triumph and rejoycing of the people, which war thair in great numberis, they entred our ladie church of that toun, quhair the baptizing was to be performed. The chancell was hung with crimson welvett, and satine figured, and round about bewtified with the most fair ladies in great abundance, all rich in juellis, and head attyres in pearle, close dressed; bot thair garmentis war blak and plaine. Truelie, in my judgment, both for habit and behaviour, they seemed to be the most modest vomen in the world!

In the chancel war erected tuo trevisses, the on for queine mother, and the prince; the other for the king and the ambassadour. Efter diverss antheames and hymnes, sung and consorted with excellent musick in great varietie, ane bischope, assisted with ane deacon, in rich vestmentis, standing befor the altar begane to reid certane prayeris both in latine and Danisch tongues; which performed, the bischop cam to the fount, and the queine mo-

ther, being led by the ambassadour, and the duik Vlrick, brought the chyld in hir armes to the same, and thair shoe delyvered the chyld to be held be. the lord ambassadour, quhill shoe hirselff slipped back the head atyre for the baptisme, which the bischope efter certane prayeris performed, by putting watter on the infantis head, with the signe of the croce, saying *neame de barne*, which was Christiane, done by the lord ambassadour and the other deputies, at the requeist of the king his father. All which accomplished, the queine mother, with the prince reteired vnto hir traveis. The bischope began ane sermon in Latine, vpoun the gospell for that day; which endit, the trumpettis soundit, and they royallie reteired as they came. That day the king maid ane solemne feast to the ambassadour, and the other deputies; placing the king of Englandis ambassadour at the table end, at the richt hand of queine mother: himselff satt on the richt syd of the table end, and his queine on the left. The duick hes brother, the bischope of Breame, and vther estaittes, war placed according to thair degries; and so war the Inglisch knyghtis and gentlemen, als many as the boordis might conteane. To be breife, it was superfluous to tell yow of all superfluties that war vsed. It wold mak

ane man seik to heir of thair drinking healthis; vse hath brought it into faschioun, and faschioun hath maid it ane habit, which ill be-seimes our natioun to imitat.

Monday being the 20 day of Julii, the lord ambassadour was intertained with the sight of the kingis stable of horssis, and with the arcinnall or storhous of the kingis munitiones, which truelie when it salbe performed, wilbe on of the most excellent provisiones in Christendome. Thair was but on syd of it built, the vther lay in the foundationes. The fabricatioun is of thrie laftis; the neathermost is artaillie vpoun carriage, so neat and clean kept, that the brase was bright as gold, and the yron as blak as jett. The bullettis is built in peillis, according to thair bore, and all provisioun so readie and necessar, as it war not to expres with wordis, quhat it is in forme; so is the midle storehous of armouris, pickis and shott, ensignes, drumes, and all martiall instrumentis. Also, the vppermost laft with pouder, cordage, and vtheris necessaris plentifulle storred.

Twysday the 12 day wes spent in sieing the king of Denmarkis shipis, and vther compliments.

Wednesday the 13 day my lord ambassadour and his attendantis kissed the queinis handis, and young prince, then tuik thair leive, and

returned from Coppinheavin to Elsinore; and be the way the king and the ambassadour hunted.

Thursday the 14 day the king ressaived the ordour of the garter, within the castle of Elsenore; which service was performed by William Segar, Norrey king at arms, vnto quhom the king gave ane rich suitt of apparel, and a chaine of gold with his mediagle hanging thairat; Att the investing of the king the castle dischairges fyftie cannone; and the king of Englandis shipis lying befor the castle, reported als many. Than efter noone the king went aboard in the English shipis, and had ane banquet prepared for him vpoun the vpper deckis, which war hung with ane awning of cloath of tissue; everie health reported six, aught, or ten shott of greatt ordinance, so that during the kingis abode, the ship dischairged ane hundreth and fyftie shott.

The castle of Elsinore is ane quadrant, and on of the guidliest fortificationes in that pairt of the world, both for strenth and most curious archietectour, and was built by Fredrick this kingis father. Thair is in the same many princlie ludgings, and especiallie on great chamber. It is hanged with tapestrie of freshe coulled silk, without gold, quhairin all the Danisch kingis ar expressed in antique habitis,

according to thair severall tymes, with thair armes and inscriptions, conteaning all thair conquestis and victories. The roof is of inlet wodis, and hung full of branches of brase for lightis, etc.

Fryday the 15 day the king hunted, and be the way showed my lord ambassadour certane watter mylnes of his awin device, for the forging, hammering, and boreing of the ordinance, both great and small; in the which work ane duzoun men did, with great ease, the offices of thrie or fourscoir. The chase continewed about two houres. The deer being brought within toylles was killed with muskett shott, the number of aught or nyne scoir, the most pairt staiges, efter the which the king feasted my lord ambassadour in ane ludge verrie royallie.

Saturday the 16 in the morneing, six or aught of the kingis counsall repaired vnto my lord ambassadouris ludging in the castle, and thair, in presence of his lordis and attendantis, maid ane solemne protestatioun of the kingis high acceptatioun of these favoures and honoures; qukich his loving brother, the king of England had done vnto him, promiseing all princelie requyttall, if it lay in his power: yealding alwayes great thankis to the ambassadour for his long and painful journey to doe

him honour, and thairwith presented his lordship with ane faire chaine and ane rich jewell sett with diamondis, and his pictur also hanging thairat: also sixteine vther chaines war givin to the knightis and sum of the gentlmen, my lordis followeris; and about ten of his mediagles of gold vnto vtheris. The presentis which the king of Ingland sent to the king of Denmark, was ane collere of the ordour, tuo verrie rich Georges sett with diamondis, and tuo garteris, and to the queine mother. rich caranettis and vther jewellis, estimat worth thrie or four thousand pund sterling. That day Ramellius invited both the king and the ambassadour to dyne with him at his awin hous, neare the castle: and in his dyneing chamber, had erected ane cloath of estate of crimsoun satine figured, with tuo chayres and cusheones of the same, and vpoun the cloath of estate war sett the armes and styles of both the kingis, which befor was not vsed, becaus the king ressaived the ordour in his chamber, and not in his chappell. The cheyre was great, and my lord ambassadour being veairie with these bachanall intertanement, took his leive of the kingis grace, intending that night to ly aboard for his more speidie dispatch homwardis: the king by no persuasioun could alter his determinatioun, and thairfoir after

monie embracementis on aither pairt, with kissing of the kingis handis, his lordschip depairted, and was accompanied vnto the shore by his majestie, quhair the pinnace and the long boatt lay readie to convey him aboard.

Sunday and Monday we war becalmed in the Sonde, and on Tuysday the 20 of Julij, we set saill for England ; our ship saluting the castle was resaluted by the same, and the king standing vpoun ane counterscarp that lay into the sea, gave fyre vnto ane cannon with his awin hand, for our last fairweill. And truelie I most say thus much of him, that for his royall persone, and princelie carriage, I hold him to be the most guidliest king in Christendome.

Saturday the 30 day of Julij, efter we had beine 14 dayes at saill, carried by contrairie windis, we arrived at Skarbore raid in Yorkschyre.

The aught of August following, the lord ambassadour cam with his attendantis, followers, and servantis to Hamptoun Court, quhair his lordschip and the rest kissed the kingis hand ; quhom all I leive for this present, to the nixt occasioun, and the rest of all matteris my authour continewes to speak fardder of, and restis, etc. etc.

ADDENDA.

IT has been already observed, that several passages contained in more recent manuscripts, are wanting in those of older date. To render this volume equally copious, some of these are already inserted in the text, or in notes, where the narrative would admit of it; others are here subjoined.

P. 76. Magnus Reid is called Magnus Redman, "named with the Scots mans, with the red maine." The reading l. 12. should probably be *rid neive*.

P. 140, l. 7. "Patrick Thorntoun one of the king's majesties oun court."

P. 212. l. 6. "and made ane man called James Shaw, called laird of Sauchie, captane of the said castle."

P. 246. The description of the monster is rather more distinct, being "tuo fair persones, with all members and portraitures, pertaining to tuo bodies, to witt, tuo heads, well eyed, well eared, and weill handed. The tuo

bodies, the onēs back was fast to the otheres, but from the waist down they were bot one personage, and could not know by the ingyne of man from which of the two bodies the legs and privie memberes procedid.”

P. 294. l. 17. The artillery and arms of the duke of Albany are described to be “sex great canones, and six great feild pieces, with other small artillery, culvering, hagbut, and cors-bow.”

P. 312. The later manuscripts add to the enumeration of the king’s household, “Mr Hunter, Mr Falconer, Mr Porter, and ane foole called John Mackillrie.”

P. 314 l. 21. “Patrick Hamiltoun, abbot of Fern, brother german to the sheriff of Linlithgow.”

P. 342. l. 1. “Meggitland and hunted all the countrie and boundis, that is to say, Crammert, Pappertlaw, St Marie Laws, Carlaverick, Chappill, Ewin doors, and Langhope.”

P. 347. l. 15. “Lord Williame Haward.”

P. 373, l. 20. “And specially in Edinburgh, Leith, Dundie, Breeichan, Mōntroes, Aberdeen, St Johnstoun, Stirling, Glasgow, Air, Lithgow, and St Androis, and Cupar off Fyfe. Thir worthie and principall touns that war commanded to mak provision, and triumph for the king’s coming and his resait. But, ne-

vertheless, their joy was soon altered, and mer-
rines turned to sadness and mourning for dis-
pleasure of the queen, for she departed that
same day fourtie days that she landed, being
the 5th of July, and therefor, all ther great
blythnes and joy of her coming was turned in
great murning. and all the play that should
have been made was all turned in soul masses
and dirigies, wherethrow their yeid such mur-
ning throw the countrie and lamentation, that
it was great pitie for to see, and also the king's
heavie moan that he made for her was greater
than all the rest."

After relating the birth of the two princes,
p. 379, the following passage appears in the
later manuscript.

"Not long after this, the king set ane Par-
liament at Edinburgh, on the third day of De-
cember, in the year of God 1540 yearis,
wherein the king ratified and approued his ge-
nerall revocatione, the whilk he made in
France, when he came of perfect age, to witt,
att the toune of Rouan, being at the age of
twenty-five yeares, and becaus he was then
[out] of his own realme, and in France for the
tyme, and had not his three estates then pre-
sent with him, therefor, as soone as he came
to Scotland, he made his revocatione of new,
and ratified that thing that he had done: then

be instruments he made it manifest, in plain Parliament, and took acts thereupon. And also, he took the bones of Robert Leslie, and forfaulted him for certain crymes and les majestie. Many other good acts, and constitutiones he made in that Parliament."

Of the persons present at the decease of James V., p. 407, the later manuscripts observe.

"Feu was with him at his departing, except the cardinall, the earle of Argyle, the earle of Rothes, the lord Erskine, the lord Lindsay, the doctor Mr Michaell Durie, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, lyon herald: the laird of Grange, Andro Wood of Largo, Norman Leslie, Mr of Rothes; the rest wer but his own secreit servants."

P. 509. The misconduct of the French is thus described: "One day the provost of Edinburgh, William Hamiltoun, laird of Stenhouse, who was captain of the castle, was commanding tuo Frenchmen to prison for raising a fray in the toun. The French men assembling in great numbers, encountered these who were with the prowtest being unarmed. They killed the provest himself, James Hamiltoun, his sone, David Kirk, David Barber, William Chapman, Mr William Stuart, William Purves, and Elizabeth Stuart, a woman."

Page 511, l. 18. " During the peace, which lasted fyve years, the lord Semple slew the lord Sanchar, Williame Crichtoun, in the governours chamber, yet he escapit punishment be means of John Hamiltoun, bishop of St Androis, brother to the governour, who entertained the lady Stenhouse, commonly called lady Gilton, dauchter to this Robert, lord Semple, as his concubin."

The following passage is inserted, p. 548, l. 22, after observing that the protestants were unable to capture Leith.

" The souldiours also began to mutinie for want of pay, wherwpon the lords of the Congregatione resolved to coine all ther silver veshell and rings: bot the coyning stamps being stollen away, they were constrained to send to ther frynds in Berwick, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Thomas Crofts, to borrow a little mony to putt of the present necessitie. The queen adverteised heerof be her secrett espyalls, sent the earle of Bothwell to lye in waitt for the lord Ormeistoun, who was sent for the same, and to intrap him in his returne, which he performed, wounded and took himself, and took the mony from him. The earle of Arran and lord James Stuart, adverteised heirof, passed haistilie out of Edinburgh, with

the most part of the horsmen, to releve Ormeistoun out of his hands."

P. 563, l. 3. The oldest manuscript contains a marginal note concerning the marriage of lord Fleming "My author told me not on quhom."

P. 574, l. 7. "In the year of God 1581, the earle of Mortoun, Regent of Scotland, was executed at Edinburghe."

SPECIMEN OF A FRAGMENT OF THE CRONICLES.

- - - - THAIREFTIR they come to Edr. without ony wnderstanding quhat wes devysit for thair distruction. Sum men jugeit na guid to cum of this weyage, and that throw the frequent message, baithe cum-and and gangand betuixt the governour and chanceler, and thairfoir gaif counsell that nane of thame at that tyme suld entir wnto the castell of Edr. or at the leist, gif he entirrit, best it war to send his brother Daid bakwart hame agane, and not to brak thair faderis counsell, quha inhibit thame that thay yeid nevir bothe togidder quhair thair wes ony apperance of dainger, fraude or gyle, lest it suld be the wraik of thaimselfis and houssis. The erle gaif no credit to sik coniectionis, sayand, he had experience of the governour and chanceleris faithé and lawtie in sik caceis; and as to the chanceler, he haid so interteint and treitt him, that he could dreid na ewill nor falset at his hand. Sik rumour and quiet rumour spred throw the haill company.

caussit Sir David Dowglas perswade the erle his brother to reteir hamewart againe, dreid- and sum mischief to follow vpone this haistie frindship; for the quhilk the erle repreivit his brother werray scharplie, sayand it wes nocht decent for him to gif eir to sik wane flattir- riris, quha wes the werray occatioun of all dissensioun and discorde amangis nobill men, so lang as they haid place, and thairfoir gain command with richt scharpe threitning and braging wourdis, that no man in his companie menit sik thing fra be to speik the samyn.—
- - - *Vide* page 40.

FINIS.

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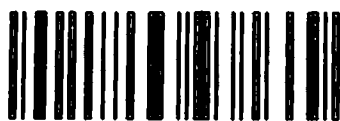
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